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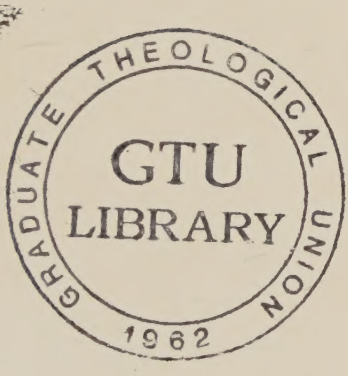

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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME I.

1927

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AMS PRESS
NEW YORK

Reprinted with the permission of the Mennonite Quarterly Review
From the edition of 1927, Goshen
First AMS EDITION published 1969
Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 76-80009

AMS PRESS, INC.
New York, N. Y. 10003

289.705
M547

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

PUBLISHED BY GOSHEN COLLEGE, GOSHEN, INDIANA
Sanford Calvin Yoder, President

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Editorial and Publication Office, Administration Building, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

VOLUME I JANUARY, 1927 NUMBER 1

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THE PRICE of the Mennonite Quarterly Review is One Dollar a year, prepaid in American Territory, in Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries add twenty five cents postage. Single Copies thirty cents postpaid.
REMITTANCES should be sent by draft on Chicago or New York, Money Order, or personal check (or postage for amounts less than one dollar), payable to Goshen College. Receipt of subscription is included with subscriber's address on each copy.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS. For change of address give both old and new addresses.
SUBSCRIPTIONS should be sent to The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Indiana.

Application pending for acceptance as second-class matter at the Post Office at Goshen, Indiana, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

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TO THE YOUTH OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH

THE GOLDEN AGE of the Mennonite Church is not past; it is just ahead. The problems of the present are many; they are difficult. But problems are challenges. They are opportunities for consecrated talent. The time never was and never will be when problems are not present. Let vision and faith see problems as challenges.

THE PRESENT GENERATION of Mennonite youth have unusual talent to consecrate to the present task. The number of young men and women trained and in training, whose heart is set on the work of the Kingdom, whose loyalty is sincere, whose faith is deep, has never been exceeded. The Church is ready to use this talent, this faith, this loyalty.

THE COMING GENERATION in the Mennonite Church is being given a carefully built, well-knit, efficient organization of activities. This organization is the equal of that in any Mennonite group and is quite compact, has rich resources and experience behind it. It covers the field of publication, education, missions, Sunday School, church music, and church history.

THE HERITAGE of the coming generation in faith and practice is sound. The faith has been kept. The historic ideals of the Mennonite Church are still functioning. Whatever obscuring of New Testament faith and practice has been found at places can be remedied. The Mennonite Church still wishes to be a pure New Testament Church.

YOUTH OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH, the church of tomorrow! The heritage is yours, the organization is yours, the talent is yours, the problems are yours, the future is yours. Get the vision, follow the gleam, bend your back to the burden, consecrate yourselves to the task. You are needed, you are wanted, you are able. May God grant the will.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume I | January 1927 | Number 1

Editorial

The Mennonite Quarterly Review continues the Review Supplement to the Goshen College Record which appeared three times, in January, May-June, and September, 1926. The Review Supplement was distributed gratis to the subscribers to the College Record, and to a further select list of university, seminary, and college libraries, to a few Mennonite ministers in Europe, and to a large number of Mennonite ministers in most of the Mennonite groups in America. The editions were respectively 600, 800, and 800. An index to the three numbers will be found elsewhere in this number under Reviews and Notes. Readers of the Review Supplement are familiar with the character of its contents, style, and viewpoint which will characterize in like manner the Mennonite Quarterly Review. A description of character and purpose appeared in the editorial section of that publication in the number for May-June, 1926.

To obviate possible misunderstanding it should be stated at the outset that the Mennonite Quarterly Review is not a journal of propaganda in any sense, nor merely a journal of opinion or comment. It has no program or pattern over which it wishes to make or remake the Mennonite Church. Its sole program is to be a servant to the truth and to the historic ideals and faith of the Mennonite Church in the light of its high calling in the Kingdom of Christ in this present world. While its chief interests will be those of the Mennonite Church, its content will no doubt be of interest and value to other Mennonite groups, and to non-Mennonites in general. It is hoped that its contribution to historical scholarship will be worthy of note to historians in general who are interested in the history of the Reformation period and the radical evangelical group which arose at that time and has continued to the present time in Europe and America, once known as Anabaptists, now generally known as Mennonites. Some material will naturally be of significance only to those who are interested in internal affairs in the Mennonite Church proper.

Special permanent features of the REVIEW as planned by the editors include Annual Surveys of Mennonite Literature the world over including digests of periodical literature, Annual Surveys of Current Mennonite History and Affairs in Europe and America, and Book Reviews. The book reviews will cover all productions by and concerning Mennonites, as well as other significant theological and religious literature. It is the purpose of the REVIEW to go back at least to 1914, and possibly to 1900 in the review department so that readers may be thoroughly acquainted with contemporary literature by and concerning Mennonites.

In general the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW may be described as a quarterly journal devoted to discussion and review of Mennonite history, thought, doctrine, life, literature, and affairs. It will be the endeavor of the editors to present only such material as is scholarly, of literary merit, and of permanent value. The historical articles will be original and authoritative contributions by scholars; the doctrinal and theological discussions will be conservative, vital, biblical and evangelical; the discussion of current problems will come from men of experience and leadership, and will be sane, sympathetic, constructive and forward-looking. The youth of the Church will find inspiration and vision and stimulation in discussions of particular interest to them.

In the light of this description, those who know the periodical literature being produced among Mennonites today will not ask for a further *raison d'etre* or occasion for the initiation of this publication. The faculty of Goshen College have felt that the time is ripe for such a publication, and that there are a sufficient number of individuals among Mennonites who will welcome and read with interest and profit the material which will be published. The field for such work is at present quite unoccupied; none of the present weekly, biweekly or monthly Mennonite periodicals is primarily concerned with the type of material here outlined. Furthermore such material can be most profitably brought together and presented in a journal such as the REVIEW specializing in its own field. The other Mennonite periodicals will doubtless welcome the REVIEW into their company, not as a rival but as a necessary complement.

An all-Mennonite Review would not be without its advantages. The College Faculty however felt constrained to proceed with the publication of the journal under its own auspices. This need not militate in any way against its value to other groups, nor does it indicate any lack of appreciation of the interests and work of such groups. An independent management and healthy self-respect are not inconsistent with friendly interest and high brotherly regard.

A large amount of good material is in prospect for future numbers of the REVIEW. Critical bibliographies of American and European Mennonite Literature will be continued for at least two years. A large numer of hitherto unpublished and to some extent unknown sources will be published regularly, one or more in each issue. Early conference reports will be published. Historical articles will include such themes as Christopher Dock, The Mennonite Church Since the World War, The Young People's Conference Movement, An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Non-Resistance from the Beginning, Hans Denck, History of the Mennonite General Conference, Two Centuries of American Mennonite Hymnology, The First Mennonite Protest Against Slavery, Mennonite Historiography, etc. Discussion of current problems and affairs will include such topics as The Mennonite Church and the Education of Her Youth, Shall We Tithe, A Biblically Supported Ministry, Endowments for Mennonite Colleges, A Mennonite Mass Movement or 10,000 Russian Mennonites on the Trek to Canada, The Mennonite World Congress in Basel. Doctrinal discussions will include such topics as, Peace and the Gospel, The Essence of Modern Religious Liberalism, Present Day Issues, Salvation by Faith in the Reformation and Now, Exegetical discussions.

As will be noticed, slight changes in the format and style of the publication have been made with the change in name. A shortening of the type-line with reduction of the number of lines on the page necessitates increasing the number of pages to 72. This will be the standard size of the REVIEW at the present low price of One Dollar per year.

The Editorial Board is enlarged by the addition of Edward Yoder. It is responsible to the Faculty of Goshen College for the redaction of the REVIEW. General responsibility for all the material is assumed by the editors. They do not assume responsibility in detail for opinions expressed, and final authority for the accuracy in detail of the historical material presented rests with the contributors.

Editorial correspondence and contributions should be addressed to H. S. Bender, Editor, Goshen, Indiana.

THERE ARE VARIOUS WAYS BY WHICH TO ATTACK AND MITIGATE THE false and chauvinistic nationalism which is a major cause of wars and a constant cause of misunderstanding and lack of appreciation of the worth of other cultures, civilizations, and peoples. However, an effective crusade against such unworthy nationalism must deal with the causes of nationalistic and chauvinistic sentiment, and seek to remove them, as well as to

remove the atmosphere which makes the growth of such sentiments possible. In his discussion of "False Patriotism", Guy F. Hershberger, Professor of History at Goshen College, seeks to do this very thing. He finds that false nationalism grows out of false patriotism and false patriotism consists of an exaggerated and unwarranted conception of the superior virtues of the national stock and the national leaders. A sober realization of the true facts regarding the nation's past, a sane estimate of the character of the heroes of former days, may serve to reduce the inflated estimate Americans have of themselves and help them to realize that both they and their national heroes have been made of the same common clay as that out of which all men are made, and that they are not free from the vices and virtues common to all. Facts are needed, and it is a few of these sobering facts regarding our national founders, such as Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and the cause in which they were interested, which are here presented in the hope that the reading of them may enlarge the circle of true patriots, reduce the population of false patriots who are a menace to world peace and to Christian comity between peoples and nations, and thus promote peace.

The endeavor of Professor Hershberger is not to be classed with some of the recent volumes on Washington, as for instance the one by Rupert Hughes which indulges in petty gossip only to make an interesting story, nor was any of the material taken from such books. Nor was it the intention to belittle the character and achievements of the Fathers of the Country. If some staid and traditional concepts concerning the "Fathers" receive a few shocks it can only be for the better. It is to be hoped that the patriotism of the average person is based on more solid ground and deeper motives than an exaggerated notion of the personal spotlessness and religious piety of a few men who lived and died one hundred and fifty years ago. Error is best dissipated not by clamor but by the clear light of truth.

In the next issue of the REVIEW Professor Hershberger will continue the discussion of his theme with a description of the attack by false patriots on saner methods of history teaching and text-book writing as evidenced in late years. In conclusion he will review an outstanding example of "falsely patriotic" text-book writing in American History.

AT PRESENT THE MENNONITE CHURCH IS IN THE MIDST OF A GREAT new project which is significant in her progress. She has raised nearly one hundred thousand dollars, and is proceeding, with the support of the city of La Junta, Colorado, to build, equip, man, and operate a modern fifty-bed hospital with tubercular annex containing an additional twenty beds. As hospitals go, the project is not a large one, but it is significant because

it is the first large scale attempt by the Mennonite Church to touch the world with the ministry of healing. No doubt such a work will raise new problems but certainly the challenge is great and the opportunity a splendid one. It should stimulate to further service along this line. The example of the splendid Hospital and Deaconess work carried on by our sister Mennonite Churches at Newton, Kansas, and the smaller work of the same kind at Beatrice, Nebraska, and at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, as well as that of the Mennonite Hospital at Bloomington, Illinois, is an inspiring illustration of what a Hospital ministry can mean in a community.

Might not the Mennonite Church consider seriously the inauguration of special work for nurses something like deaconess work? It is a splendid type of Christian service for consecrated young women and one which has great spiritual possibilities. From this point of view the marvelous deaconess work of the German Evangelical groups is an inspiring achievement. After all, deaconess work is an historic Mennonite institution. It has existed in some Dutch Mennonite congregations from the beginning to the present and was featured in Russia. It flourished formerly among some North German congregations, and possibly even among some of the Amish churches of South Germany. For a history of the institution, see the article "Diakonisse" in the MENNONITISCHES LEXIKON.

Especially significant is the emphasis the writer places upon the value of hospital work as a point of contact through which the Church may enlarge her ministry to the world. This enlarged contact with the world is sorely needed by the Church. Separation from the sin of the world dare never be interpreted to mean separation from the responsibility of ministering to the needs of needy men in the world which the Saviour placed upon his disciples. The Mennonite Church needs the large vision which Allen Erb, the Superintendent of the Mennonite Sanitarium and Hospital in La Junta, has caught and which has made him the heart and moving force of the splendid program of hospital work upon which the Mennonite Church is finally launched. There is no reason why the Church cannot have two or three additional hospitals in the next decade. As he suggests in his conclusion, the realization of such a vision is dependent upon consciences aflame.

A FUNDAMENTAL NECESSITY FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH IS THE POSsession of adequate bibliographical information. While historical sources are of varied nature, the printed literature of a group is a very essential part of such source material. At the present time there is no authoritative bibliography of American Mennonite literature. It is fitting that such a critical bibliography, as complete as possible, should be presented during

this year, 1927, in view of the fact that the first distinctly Mennonite literary production printed in America was printed in Philadelphia just two hundred years ago, in 1727. It is the plan of the REVIEW to publish a complete bibliography of all Mennonite literature printed in America, or printed elsewhere for American Mennonites during the two hundred years that have passed since that first issue. If possible the bibliography will be completed in the four numbers of the current volume. Upon completion the bibliography will probably be issued in booklet form. The compiler will appreciate criticisms, corrections, additions from anyone so that the completed bibliography may be as authoritative as possible. With each item in the list, at least for the first 150 years, indication will be made of locations where the item may be found for study. Thus the list becomes a guide to location of source material as well and is made doubly useful for research. It is the plan of the REVIEW to follow the American bibliography with a similar bibliography of European Mennonite literature in 1928. A bibliography of printed literature concerning Mennonites will be issued later.

THE FACTS REGARDING THE ATTITUDE OF MENNO SIMONS ON IMMERSION needed to be produced again in view of the gross misstatement made by the author of an article in the *Review and Expositor* for January, 1926. Baptists, that is, some of them, like to have the authority of Menno for immersion, and certain individuals among the Dunkers (or Brethren) have thought it necessary to accuse Mennonites of departure from the principles of their fathers on the mode of baptism. As John Horsch clearly points out, the only support for the idea that Menno immersed or defended immersion comes from a garbled translation by Morgan Edwards back in 1770. Mr. Horsch is well qualified to settle the point in view of his authoritative biography of Menno which appeared in 1916.

In the same article in the *Review and Expositor* a statement is made to the effect that immersion came to Holland from the Swiss Mennonite congregations which practiced it in the sixteenth century. There is no shred of justification for this statement.

The criticism of this one point does not of course depreciate in the least the general value of the series of four addresses on "The Progress of Baptist Principles from Jesus to Constantine, from Constantine to the Anabaptists, from Luther and the Anabaptists to Roger Williams, and from Roger Williams to the Present" which were delivered at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1924-5 and which appeared in the numbers of the 1926 volume of the *Review and*

Expositor published by that Seminary. The articles well repay reading, and will be of interest to Mennonites.

With this issue the Review begins the publication of a series of source materials for American and European Mennonite History. The series will include primarily unpublished or at present inaccessible sources. When the original language is not English the original and translation will be printed vis-a-vis. Appropriate introductions to each item will give the necessary explanatory background for an understanding of the text. The reprints are designed to be critically exact.

Something of uncertainty regarding the official name to be applied to the largest American Mennonite group has prevailed to the present time. That group, consisting now of almost 45,000 adult communicants, descending from the original Swiss and South German immigrants to Pennsylvania, 1683 to 1760, with reenforcement from the same regions at later intervals, and constituting the parent stock from which most of the other Mennonites of America, except the Russians, have come, has called itself simply "The Mennonite Church".

Various persons from other Mennonite groups have proposed other names, since the term "Mennonite Church" is often used in a generic sense of all Mennonites. Among these proposed names have been: The American Mennonite Church, The Old Mennonite Church, General Conference B. The last suggestion involved naming the General Conference of Mennonites of North America General Conference A, priority of organization (1860) over the other General Conference (Mennonite General Conference, 1893) being given as the reason. However the distinction between the two General Conferences is already well-made by the actual difference in the two names, the one being The General Conference of Mennonites, the other The Mennonite General Conference.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review will use the following nomenclature where exact official titles are not required:

	Membership
The Mennonite Church	43,500*
The General Conference Mennonite Church	23,000
The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church	8,000
The Mennonite Brethren Church	5,000

*45,000 including membership in Foreign Missions.

The remaining organized and unorganized Mennonite, Amish Mennonite, and Amish groups are sufficiently distinguished by their own characteristic names.

Confirmation of the usage adopted above is found in the government official census reports which use the names as indicated above. The official in charge of the Religious Census, Dr. H. K. Carroll, uses the same nomenclature in his book, *The Religious Forces of the United States,* 1912. He states that the name, "The Mennonite Church", is used by him to indicate the parent body of Mennonites.

THE APRIL ISSUE OF THE REVIEW WILL CONTAIN A NUMBER OF THE following leading articles:

An Historical Survey of the Mennonite Position on Non-Resistance from the beginning to the present time, based on a study of the original sources.

A Biblically Supported Ministry.

A Mennonite Mass Movement; 10,000 Russian Mennonites on the Way to Canada.

Mennonite Historiography.

Recent Mennonite History.

Shall We Tithe?

Translations and Reprints of Sources:

The First Protest Against Slavery, 1688.

Materials from Christopher Dock.

Mennonitica Americana II, 1827-1870.

Reviews and Notes.

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False Patriotism

Guy F. Hershberger

"In America a new people had risen up. . . . They were more sincerely religious, better educated, of serener minds, and of purer morals than the men of any former republic . . . . they had prepared a constitution which . . . excelled everyone known before. . . . . In the happy morning of their existence as one of the powers of the world, they had chosen justice for their guide; and while they proceeded on their way with well-founded confidence and joy, all the friends of mankind invoked success on the unexampled endeavor to govern states and territories of imperial extent as one federal republic." — George Bancroft.[1]

Patriotism as we know it to-day cannot be appreciated without an understanding of another social phenomenon of the nineteenth century, known as nationalism. Although the roots of nationalism go back many centuries, it was not until the nineteenth that it reached that maturity which brings the bearing of an abundance of fruit. When Napoleon I crowned his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, king of Spain, in July, 1808, as a part of his plan to merge that state with his own great empire, the Spanish people — not the Spanish royalty or a particular military group — but the Spanish people as a whole rose to defend their country against the tyranny of the upstart foreign ruler. The sudden check of Napoleon's program in Spain cannot be explained without considering the fact that he was no longer dealing merely with monarchs and mercenary armies, but with a nation of people who were working with one mind. In the mind of Spain the crying need of the hour was the vindication of the honor of the Spanish nation. The Spanish people had become nationalistic.

Almost simultaneously the same thing was taking place in other parts; a feeling of nationalism spread over all of Europe and the people of other nations became united in the cause of self-defense. Even the United States of America was unable to keep out of the European conflict and here too, as a result of the War of 1812, there swept throughout the country a wave of ardent nationalism. Led on by a group of zealous young statesmen, the American people became convinced of their own importance and enthusiastically took up the task of building on the shores of the western continent a truly great, self-reliant, and independent nation. Within a very few

1. George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, Vol. VI, p. 474.

years the army was strengthened that we might be more successful in the event of another war; a protective tariff was laid to make us independent industrially; roads and canals were built to unite the country for commercial and military purposes; the finances of the country were improved by the reestablishment of the United States Bank; and the Supreme Court in a series of epoch-making decisions vindicated the power and authority of the national government. The United States had won her right to a place in the sun and was determined to enlarge that place as greatly as possible.

Many factors contribute to the development and maintenance of national feeling. Unity of race, geography, language and religion, community of economic interest, and the possession of common traditions all play their part. But most potent is the psychological factor of the belief in the existence of the nation. That people which *thinks* itself a nation *is* a nation. The forces which contribute to the development of nationalism work slowly, but effectively, until there is reached a certain stage of development where only a war or some common danger is required to crystallize the sentiment which has been forming. Threat of war serves as the unifying agent which completes the process of nationalization; people are then rudely shaken into a realization that they are a nation, that the nation is in danger, and that it must be defended.

Whenever a people have acquired mental organization and an ability to think collectively so as to regard themselves a nation they concentrate their energies upon the advancement of the nation. Not only do they defend it when it is in danger, but, intensely loyal to everything it does, they become passionately devoted to its traditions, they glory in its history and in its accomplishments, they revere its heroes and its leaders, they join in the singing of national songs, anthems, and hymns. Certain forces have brought the people to the point where they *think* they are a nation; soon they pass to the next stage where they *feel* that they are a nation. The group mind has taken possession and they are now no longer guided alone by the knowledge of certain facts, but by the feelings as well. Precisely at this point lies the parting of the ways between true and false patriotism. Patriotism is genuine largely to the extent that it is tempered and guided by a cool intelligence; it is spurious whenever it is permitted to pass under the control of a passionate emotionalism.

Under the stress of an aroused emotional state very strange and irrational ideas are entertained in the name of patriotism, by otherwise perfectly sensible people. Merely because I love America is no indication that I must believe — and boast the belief — that the American people are "more sincerely religious, better educated, of serener minds, and of purer morals" than the people of any other nation. And yet many people believe

this to-day as passionately as did George Bancroft three quarters of a century ago. Many people find it difficult to believe that there could have been any appreciable difference of opinion among the good people of our colonial population as to what course should be taken in the days of the American Revolution. It is the popular conception that the Revolution was a sort of spontaneous rising of the entire country to wrest the powers of government from the hands of the British tyrant. To quote Bancroft again, "The people of the continent obeyed one general impulse, as the earth in spring listens to the command of nature and without the appearance of effort bursts into life."[2] This is the conception which found its way into our school histories and as a result has come to be generally accepted by the American public. Others believe with Bancroft — perhaps largely as the result of his writings — that the adoption of the Constitution of the United States and the formation of the federal republic was "the most cheering act in the political history of mankind."[3] Still others are ready to assert their earnest belief that the fathers of our country were wholly in the right when they fought for American independence and that England was altogether wrong and even desperately wicked. And still others feel that the fathers of the country must have been almost spotlessly perfect, highly virtuous, never dishonest, and piously religious — in short, that the political, social, and religious atmosphere breathed by our fathers must have been at least, like Ivory Soap, ninety-nine and one-fourth per cent pure. At any rate none of the fathers themselves could possibly have been guilty of any form of political corruption whatsoever.

Nineteenth century historiography was highly nationalistic in its tone with the result that numerous fallacious ideas were developed, many of which still cling to the minds of the American people. It is true, of course, that Bancroft, even though a historian, may have been more or less unavoidably misguided into making his exaggerated statements; but, fortunately, historical scholarship has made enough progress since the days of Bancroft that to-day the knowledge of even the elementary school boy should be sufficiently tempered by historical accuracy to prevent such extravagant beliefs regarding the greatness and goodness of our American people. "To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world", if I may borrow an expression from the Declaration of Independence itself.

John Adams himself is responsible for the statement that according to his opinion about one-third of the colonists were opposed to the Revolution throughout the entire length of its duration. And he also admitted that

2. George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, Vol. IV. p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 5.

the great problem of the revolutionary leaders was to keep the spirit of revolt stirred up to a sufficient pitch among the thirteen colonies to keep the war going.[4] There is evidence enough to show that there was a great division of opinion even among the American people themselves as to whether England or America was in the right. As a matter of fact the radical, aggressive group which was really responsible for American independence was a minority group and was able to win the assistance of the majority only because of a very efficient organization and highly aggressive methods.

In spite of the popular idea that the Constitution was everywhere regarded as an almost sacred document from its very inception, there is an abundance of evidence to show that the people of our country were far from unanimous in their approval of its adoption. John Marshall, for many years chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, who had been a thorough-going supporter of ratification of the Constitution is the author of the statement that, "So balanced were the parties in some of them [the states] that even after the subject had been discussed for a considerable time, the fate of the constitution could scarcely be conjectured; and so small in many instances was the majority in its favor, as to afford strong ground for the opinion that, had the influence of character been removed, the intrinsic merits of the instrument would not have secured its adoption. Indeed it is scarcely to be doubted that in some of the adopting states a majority of the people were in the opposition. In all of them, the numerous amendments which were proposed demonstrate the reluctance with which the new government was accepted; and that a dread of dismemberment, not an approbation of the particular system under discussion, had induced an acquiescence in it."[5] Furthermore, lest anyone think that all the prominent men of the day were in favor of its adoption let it be noted that such men as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Randolph, Elbridge Gerry, and George Clinton, two of whom were later elected vice president of the United States, were opposed.

Incidentally, the movement for the Constitution and its ratification throws some light on the political methods of the fathers. In September, 1787, when the necessity of calling a convention to ratify the newly drafted constitution presented itself to the legislature of Pennsylvania considerable opposition was in evidence. The legislature was scheduled to adjourn on the twenty-ninth. On the morning of the twenty-eighth a motion was

4. Cf. A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), p. 161.

5. Quoted in Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

made to call the convention, but the enemies of ratification, determined to defeat it by hook or crook, filibustered the question until noon. In the afternoon they refused to return to the assembly chamber and, there being no quorum present, no business could be carried on. At least two of the absentee legislators were needed to complete the quorum. In a short time the situation became generally known about the town and when the necessary two members were found in a local tavern by friends of the Constitution they were seized and dragged to the assembly chamber. There they were forced inside and the doors locked. A quorum now being present business was resumed and the convention called.

But this was not the end of the difficulty in Pennsylvania. The ratifying convention, which met in due time, had no official reporter, but this matter seemed satisfactorily cared for when two young men offered their services. During the course of the convention, however, one of the young men published his reports in the *Pennsylvania Herald* and, naturally, the sharply-drawn controversy which was raging within the convention halls became a matter of general knowledge while the heated debates were widely read, attracting much attention. Fearing that this would furnish too much capital for the opposition, both in Pennsylvania and in other states, the federalists attempted to stop the publication of the reports and succeeded in doing so only by purchasing the *Herald*. The other reporter intended to publish his reports in book form and had sold subscriptions in advance of publication. To prevent this the federalists bribed him and he dropped the matter of publishing his book. But in order to satisfy those who had paid their subscriptions he did publish a pamphlet containing two convention speeches, both by enthusiastic federalists.[6]

Another interesting example of political maneuvering in the early days is that of the stealing of the governorship of New York by George Clinton in 1792. Clinton was the Republican candidate and John Jay the Federalist; the election canvassing board was in the control of the Republicans. The election was very close, with Jay winning by a narrow margin; but the Republicans were undaunted in purpose and succeeded in finding a way out. The New York election laws directed that in each county the votes from the towns be sent to the sheriff who in turn should put the votes from all the towns into a box and carry them to Albany for final count. Tioga and Otsego were two strong Jay counties and in each of these there was a slight irregularity of a technical character in the election proceedings. In the former the sheriff had sent his deputy to Albany with the ballots; the deputy fell ill on the way and appointed another dep-

6. Cf. J. B. McMaster, *With the Fathers* (New York, 1896), pp. 73-75.

uty on his own authority. This act was declared illegal, the irregularly appointed deputy was declared disqualified, and the entire vote of Tioga County was thrown out. In Otsego County the sheriff's term of office had expired, but since a new sheriff had not taken his place he continued to function until his successor should assume his duties. In addition to this irregularity there was another. After the sheriff had sent his deputy to Albany with the ballot box it was discovered that the votes from one town had been omitted. Accordingly, he enclosed these in a package and sent them separately. The entire vote of Otsego County was then thrown out on two counts — there was no sheriff to do the official business and not *all* of the ballots had been enclosed in the box as the statutes prescribed. With the two Jay counties eliminated Clinton was elected governor of New York.[7] Poor John Jay fared little better in 1792 than did Samuel J. Tilden in 1876.

The fathers found it rather difficult, just as their sons do now, always to win elections on clear cut issues and so we need not be surprised that they frequently resorted to the use of questionable party methods. In 1757 a young political aspirant named George Washington became a candidate for election as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses from Frederick County. In the days previous to the election he was in the county with his army and was much annoyed by excessive drinking among his men. Being only a young man of twenty-five and not having learned all the useful tricks of the political game, he knew no better than to assume the role of a reformer. So he complained to the governor of the nuisance of the drinking houses, whipped some of his men who insisted on drinking, and closed one of the taverns by force. Needless to say, the "wets" lined up against the young candidate and elected their own man by 270 votes to Washington's 40. The following year Washington stood for election again, but being now an older and a wiser man he employed safer methods. First of all he secured the aid of the county boss. Then, in spite of the Virginia law forbidding treating in connection with elections, it was announced that all voters were invited to drink at the local tavern at Washington's expense. When it was all over Washington wrote to the boss, who had charge of all these matters, expressing hopes that all had been treated fairly and added: "My only fear is that you spent with too sparing a hand." Instead of losing this election Washington won by 310 votes to 45 for his opponent. And, while in the former election there had been threats to blow out his brains, now there was "a general applause and huz-

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 78.

zaing for Colonel Washington." A detailed statement of Washington's liquor bill in pounds, shillings, and pence follows:[8]

40 gallons of Rum Punch @ 3-6 pr. galn.	7	0	0
15 gallons of Wine @ 10- pr. galn.	7	10	0
Dinner for your Friends	3	0	0
13½ gallons of Wine @ 10-	6	15	0
3½ pts. of Brandy @ 1-3		4	4½
13 Galls. Beer @ 1-3		16	3
8 qt. Cyder Royl @ 1-6	0	12	0
Punch		3	9
30 gallns. of strong beer @ 8d. pr. gall.		1	0
1 hhd. & 1 Barrell of Punch, consisting of			
26 gals. best Barbadoes rum, 5-	6	10	0
12 lbs. S. Refd. Sugar 1-6		18	9
3 galls. and 3 quarts of Beer @ 1 pr. gall.		3	9
10 Bowls of Punch @ 2-6 each	1	5	0
9 half pints of rum @ 7½d. each		5	7½
1 pint of wine		1	6

The whole question of the character of politics in the days of the fathers has been admirably summed up by McMaster who says: "A very little study of long-forgotten politics will suffice to show that in filibustering and gerrymandering, in stealing governorships and legislatures, in using force at the polls, in colonizing and in distributing patronage to whom patronage is due, in all the frauds and tricks that go to make up the worst form of practical politics, the men who founded our State and national governments were always our equals, and often our masters."[9]

Another matter which will bear a little scrutiny in the interests of historical accuracy and of true patriotism is that of the personal life and character of some of the fathers of the country. The writer has no interest in the disparagement of the character nor of the service of any of these great men. He appreciates very keenly that their services to our country were great and that with few exceptions the fathers of our country were men who possessed a high degree of respectability. But it is a false patriotism which, in the face of better knowledge, places these men on pedestals of perfection, envelops their spirits in an atmosphere of divinity, and decries every criticism which the historian may feel called upon to make of their supposedly spotless characters and faultless careers.

Let us notice the case of John Hancock, for example. It is true that

8. Quoted in P. L. Ford, *The True George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 297.

9. McMaster, *With the Fathers*, p. 71.

he did the highly patriotic deed of signing the Declaration of Independence in letters so large that King George III might read them without the aid of his spectacles; but if his whole life is to be remembered, he must also be given credit for having been a recognized leader among those New Englanders who were engaged in smuggling, a business carried on for no other purpose than the evasion of the payment of lawful taxes. Furthermore, while treasurer of Harvard College, evidently being in need of cash for some important purpose, he became guilty of embezzling the funds intrusted to his care.

As regards the personal character of George Washington it ought not be necessary to spend any time in refutation of such age-worn and moth-eaten myths as the story of the cherry tree and the impossibility of his telling a lie. Highly respectable though the Father of Our Country was, his earthly career did not so nearly as this approach the mark of perfection. With all his strength of character Washington was subject to a number of very human frailties. His tendency toward occasional outbursts of passion and profanity was a matter of common knowledge among his contemporaries. In spite of his dignity and formality, he frequently indulged in little social pastimes such as many of his less reputable contemporaries also indulged in. Alexander Hamilton tells us that he "could bear to drink more wine than most people. He loved to make a procrastinated dinner — made it a rule to drink a glass of wine with everyone at table, and yet always drank 3-4 or more glasses of wine after dinner, according to his company — and every night took a pint of cream and toasted crust for supper."[10] Ford tells us that Washington was greatly in love with dancing and that he spent many hours in this diversion while his army was in winter quarters during the years of the Revolutionary War.[11] In matters of business Washington was not above participation in schemes regarded much in disfavor at the present time. It was a frequent occurrence for him to take chances in lotteries and raffles. Ford cites numerous instances of the purchase of lottery tickets for which he paid amounts varying from small sums to as high as fifty pounds. In this latter instance we are told he drew a half-acre lot, but unfortunately he was defrauded out of it.[12]

Another point of interest is the religious side of Washington's life. Nominally he was an Episcopalian, but it must not be thought for a moment that there was anything which savored of puritanical strictness about his religion. It was a common thing for Washington to attend to secular affairs of various kinds on Sunday. He prepared invoices, bought

10. Quoted in C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways* (New Haven, 1921), p. 108
11. Cf. Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 184.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.

and sold land, sold wheat, and even went fox hunting on Sunday. He tells us in his diary, however, that he did not collect rent from his western tenants on Sunday because they were "*apparently* very religious."[13] And then, even though Washington was at least an occasional and sometimes a regular church attendant, it does not seem likely that he took part in the communion service before the Revolution. And it is certain that he did not do so after this. At Philadelphia, where he attended church regularly, he always left the service just before the communion was offered. The pastor of the church felt that this was the wrong kind of example for the president to set and reproved him for it, the result being, however, that from that time on Washington did not attend church at all on communion Sundays.[14]

As to Washington's religious beliefs it is difficult to speak with certainty for he seems never to have committed himself with any great degree of clearness. It is known that he was a believer in religion, that he threw his influence in its favor, and that he was tolerant. But his real beliefs were kept much to himself. President Madison is quoted as giving his opinion that Washington had never "attended to the arguments for Christianity, and for the different systems of religion, or in fact that he had formed definite opinions on the subject. But he took these things as he found them existing and was constant in his observances of worship according to the received forms of the Episcopal Church in which he was brought up." Thomas Jefferson is responsible for the statement that Gouverneur Morris said that Washington's beliefs were much like his own. And Morris has been characterized as an atheist.[15] It is likely, however, that this characterization is a bit strong. In all probability Washington's beliefs, as well as those of Morris, were those of the eighteenth century deists. Deism was flourishing at this time in England, France, and America and was generally accepted by such Americans as Franklin, Jefferson, and Thomas Paine.

The whole matter regarding the character of the great Washington has been admirably summed up by McMaster in the following words: "When at last he is set before us in his habit as he lived, we shall read less of the cherry-tree and more of the man. Naught surely that is heroic will be omitted, but side by side with much that is heroic will appear much that is commonplace. We shall behold the great commander repairing defeat with marvelous celerity, healing the dissensions of his officers, and calming the passions of his mutinous troops. But we shall also hear his oaths and see him in those terrible outbursts of passion. . . .We shall see him

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-79.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 83.

refusing to be paid for his services by Congress, yet exacting from the family of the poor mason the shilling that was his due. We shall know him as the cold and forbidding character with whom no fellow-man ever ventured to live on close and familiar terms. We shall respect and honor him for being, not the greatest of generals, not the wisest of statesmen, not the most saintly of his race, but a man with many human frailties and much common sense, who rose in the fullness of time to be the political deliverer of our country."[16]

Another, and in many ways perhaps the most representative of the fathers, was Benjamin Franklin. Professor Becker speaks of him as the first American, "a living and vocal product, as it were, of all the material and spiritual forces that were transforming the people of the British plantations into a new nation."[17] The services to his country of this great man cannot easily be overestimated; but let no one think that he was piously religious even though he has given us many wise proverbs for our instruction. It is true that as a boy in the early years of the eighteenth century he listened to the preaching of Increase Mather in Boston, but it is also true that toward the close of the century he was an intimate friend of Voltaire and held essentially the same religious views. Franklin says in his *Autobiography*: "My parents had early given me religious impressions and brought me through my childhood piously in the Dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen when, after doubting by turns several points as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of the Revelation itself. Some books against deism fell into my hands . . . [but] they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them. For the arguments of the deists, which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough deist."[18]

The youthful Franklin took great delight in disputing on religious questions, although the soberer reflection of the more mature Franklin later caused him to regard this avocation as more or less unprofitable. In 1723 he left Philadelphia for New York and he gives among other reasons for his leaving, this one: "My indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed out with horror by good people as an infidel and atheist."[19] In 1725 he published a pamphlet in which he argued that "nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were

16. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1902), II, pp. 452, 453.
17. Carl Becker, *Beginnings of the American People* (Boston, 1915), p. 199.
18. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, p. 73.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

empty distinctions, no such things existing." Later he modified this view somewhat and he tells us that his pamphlet "appeared now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument. . . ."[20]

Franklin was brought up a Presbyterian, but according to his own confession he seldom attended public services. It was his opinion, however, that public worship had its place when conducted in a proper manner and he regularly paid his subscription to the support of the only Presbyterian church in Philadelphia. The minister kept reminding Franklin of his duty to attend services and once he did so for five Sundays in succession. But he ceased to attend church at all after this. This occurred in about 1733 when Franklin was twenty-seven years of age.[21]

Franklin, unlike Washington, has left us an explicit statement of his religious beliefs. He has summed up his creed in six points, believing:

> That there is one God, who made all things.
> That he governs the world by his providence.
> That he ought to be worshiped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.
> But that the most acceptable service to God is doing good to men.
> That the soul is immortal.
> And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter.[22]

This is essentially the deistic position — perhaps a bit more reverent and more theistic in tendency than that of the average deist. Although God and the immortality of the soul are accepted, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the deity of Christ, and the reality and need of salvation through his redemptive work are wholly ignored. The Reverend George Whitefield, while in America, became intimately acquainted with Franklin and tried to convince him of the necessity of changing his views. The *Autobiography* tells us that, "He used, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but he never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard."[23]

In Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States and author of the Declaration of Independence, we have another example of an outstanding American leader who shared the general views of the eighteenth century deists. Jefferson was interested in religion and morality, but so far from accepting the Scriptures as the Word of God he took in hand the task of writing an expurgated edition of the New Testament, including only such passages as would, in his mind, set forth the ethical teach-

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 99.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

ings of Jesus and omitting such parts as had to do with doctrine, theology, or other (in his mind) non-essentials. This selection of parts from the Scriptures has since been published and is commonly known as *The Jefferson Bible*. Besides his *Bible*, Jefferson has left us two documents (published as an introduction to the *Bible*) which state his religious views. One is a letter written to Dr. Benjamin Rush on April 21, 1803, in which he says among other things: "To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the only sense in which he wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrine, in prererence to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence, and believing he never claimed any other."[24] This view is more fully stated in the second document entitled, "Syllabus of an Estimate of the Doctrines of Jesus, Compared with Those of Others."

In this document Jefferson says of Jesus, to quote him in part:

> According to the ordinary fate of those who attempt to enlighten and reform mankind, he fell an early victim to the jealousy and the combination of the altar and the throne, at about 33 years of age, his reason having not yet attained the maximum of its energy, nor the course of his preaching, which was but of three years at most, presented occasions for developing a complete system of morals.
>
> Hence the doctrines which he really believed were defective, as a whole. and fragments only of what he did deliver have come to us mutilated. mis-stated, and often unintelligible.
>
> They have been still more disfigured by the corruptions of schismatizing followers, who have found an interest in sophisticating and perverting the simple doctrines he taught, by engrafting on them the mysticisms of a Grecian Sophist (Plato), frittering them into subtilties and obscuring them with jargon, until they have caused good men to reject the whole in disgust, and to view Jesus himself as an impostor . . . . The question of his being a member of the Godhead, or in direct communication with it, claimed for him by some of his followers, and denied by others, is foreign to the present view, which is merely an estimate of the intrinsic merits of his doctrines.[25]

The case of John Adams, another prominent American named among the fathers of our country, may be cited to show that the general tendency among them does not seem to have been one of deep piety or fidelity to most of those things cherished by people strictly religious. He found it convenient to denounce creeds, synods, councils, and other matters with which religion is concerned as so much "trumpery", amounting even to cart-loads, the design of which is for no better purpose than to make of people "riddle-solvers" and "mystery-mongers" rather than good men, magistrates, and citizens.[26]

A lengthy discussion of the religious views of these prominent Amer-

24. *The Jefferson Bible*, p. 12.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.
26. Cf. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

ican statesmen would perhaps be unnecessary in an article on false patriotism were it not for the fact that another one of the fathers of our country—the man who did perhaps more than any other single person to bring about the establishment of an independent American nation—has been held in disrepute in the popular mind and has not been given recognition for the important part which he played in the making of our country for no other reason than that he held essentially the same views as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams. This man was Thomas Paine. Although he has been given little recognition for his services, yet the fact remains that Paine deserves a position in the front ranks of those Americans who worked for the winning of independence and the establishment of the new government. Furthermore, in spite of the popular conception, he was not an atheist, but a man of liberal views much like those of Franklin and Jefferson. For certain reasons, however, which will appear more fully later, the worst possible interpretation has been placed upon his religious views, and his character has been held in disrepute with the result that the American people, who are "of purer morals" and "more sincerely religious" than any other people have failed to recognize him as one of the fathers of their country.

Thomas Paine, an Engiishman, born of Quaker parents, came to America in 1774. Like Jefferson and Franklin, he had absorbed the naturalistic political ideas of the English philosopher, John Locke, the essence of which was "government by the consent of the governed". Furthermore, he was an ardent exponent of the entire system of naturalistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, the dominant note of which was freedom from restraint and the rejection of authority, whether in religion, in government, or in the realm of the intellect. These ideas had been popularized in France by Voltaire and Rousseau and the time was nearly at hand when they were to bear fruit in the catastrophic French Revolution. In England they also bore their fruit, although in a less spectacular way. And in America Samuel Adams, Jefferson, and their colleagues had arrived at the point where they were ready to take a determined stand for what they regarded as their inalienable rights. It is evident, then, that the intellectual basis of the American Revolution is only one phase of a much larger intellectual movement which had grown up in western Europe, especially in England and France.

Just how far the American colonies would have carried their struggle with England had Paine not arrived on the scene is a matter of speculation, but it is certain that he was the man who convinced the colonial leaders that independence was the necessary goal of their conflict. As early as October 18, 1775 he published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* an article en-

titled, "A Serious Thought", which was the first published advocacy of independence. In this article he said: "When I reflect on these, [evils of the British Government] I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain. Call it Independence or what you will, if it is the cause of God and Humanity it will go on."[27] Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, was still writing to Randolph in the autumn of 1775 about: "Looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Great Britain" and expressing his hope that Randolph might "be able to contribute towards expediting the good work."[28].

Professor David Saville Muzzey suggests that while Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was writing in this vein, perhaps Paine was already penning those burning sentences which were published in January, 1776, in his great pamphlet, *Common Sense.* Written in the spirit of the eighteenth century, with first an attack on autocratic governments in general and that of England in particular, he proceeds with a convincing array of logic to drive home to the American people the necessity of complete separation from England. He challenges the advocates of reconciliation to show a single advantage that might be reaped from a connection with Great Britain. He insists that reconciliation and ruin are closely related. He even sifts the advocates themselves and finds them falling into four groups of: "Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men who *cannot* see; prejudiced men who *will not* see; and a certain group of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves." He laughs at the folly of consenting to be ruled by a foreign power three thousand miles away. "A government of our town is our natural right: and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own, in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. . . . Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. . . . To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections (wounded through a thousand pores) instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. . . . Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is passed? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord

27. D. E. Wheeler (Ed.), *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine* (N. Y. 1908), Vol. II, p. 196.

28 Quoted in D. S. Muzzey, "Thomas Paine and American Independence", *American Review,* Vol. IV, p. 282.

is now broken. . . .O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her, Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."[29]

It would be difficult to overestimate the tremendous influence which was exerted by Paine's fiery pamphlet. In three months 120,000 copies had been sold. It has been estimated that altogether a total of a half million copies were sold, including both domestic and foreign sales. It was read and discussed in all parts of the country. In a remarkably short time it succeeded in crystallizing a sentiment in favor of independence so that by July the Declaration was possible.

Thomas Paine was consistent in his attitude throughout. He was in a position to make a small fortune from the sale of his pamphlet, but instead of doing this he turned his entire profit into the cause of the Revolution. Moreover, he entered the military service and endured the hardships of the ordinary soldier. He was a soldier in Washington's army which, defeated at New York, marched in retreat across New Jersey in December of 1776, with the British at its heels. And in that trying hour when Washington himself felt that perhaps "the game is pretty nearly up", Thomas Paine who did the work of a soldier by day, sat down at night and penned the words which put new life into the entire army including Washington himself. On December 19, 1776,[30] there appeared the first issue of the *Crisis* which he continued to publish throughout the duration of the war. If *Common Sense* convinced the colonies of the necessity of independence, the *Crisis* stirred the hearts of soldiers to stay with the fight to the finish. Note his pointed sentences once more. "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."[31]

Paine assures his readers that, "By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils — a ravaged country — a depopulated city — habitations without safety, and slavery without hope — our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over

29. *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, II, pp. 39-58, passim.
30. The Wheeler Edition of Paine gives the date as Dec. 23, but most historians seem to accept Dec. 19.
31. From *Crisis* I, *Ibid.*, III, p. 1.

it! And if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented."[32]

It was these words from the pen of Thomas Paine which inspired the hearts of Washington and his soldiers as they continued their retreat and then came back with the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, followed six days later, by another victory at Princeton. This is the type of service which Paine was giving his country during the entire period of the war.

But his services did not end here. Besides opening the door of independence and cheering the colonies on to a successful conclusion of the war, his far-seeing eye seems to have been able to penetrate farther into the future than did that of most of his contemporaries. While most of them did not see the need of a strong union of the thirteen colonies until the troublous days of the Confederation were at hand, Paine in number XV of the *Crisis*, published in 1783, urged the great necessity of a "Union of the States". "On this," he says, "our great national character depends. It is this which must give us importance abroad and security at home. It is through this only, that we are, or can be nationally known in the world; it is the flag of the United States which renders our ships and commerce safe on the seas or in a foreign port."[33]

But neither does this conclude the story. Thomas Paine served our country as Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Continental Congress from 1777 to 1779; he was clerk of the Pennsylvania legislature from 1779 to 1780; he served as an envoy to France in 1781 where he assisted in obtaining a gift of six million livres from King Louis; he was an advocate of woman's rights, of the abolition of slavery, and of the humane treatment of animals; he opposed duelling and advocated an international tribunal for the arbitration of disputes and the prevention of war.[34]

One would suppose that for such services as these Thomas Paine should have received consideration and regard from his countrymen together with Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and the other fathers. But such was not to be his lot. In 1787 he left America for England where in 1791 he published *The Rights of Man*, an apology for American independence and a defense of the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity which were at that moment being fought for in the French Revolution which had broken out in 1789. Already such Americans as John Adams and Alexander Hamilton showed signs of hostility toward

32. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 15, 16.
33. From *Crisis* XV, *Ibid.*, III, p. 358.
34. Cf. Muzzey, *loc. cit.*, pp. 278, 282.

Paine and his new pamphlet. Adams "detested" the work and its "tendency" from the bottom of his heart and his son, John Quincy Adams, launched a violent attack because of its disrespect for authority.[35] Alas! how soon these men seem to have forgotten that our own American Revolution was a product of this same subservient philosophy.

But this was only the beginning of Paine's troubles with his fellow Americans. I say fellow Americans, for it must be remembered that Paine was an American citizen, having twice taken the oath of allegiance. In 1792 he went to France in person to aid the cause of the Revolution. Here he remained ten years. Ten months of this time were spent in prison where he barely escaped the guillotine because he opposed the radical tyranny of the Jacobins. And while he was there, Gouverneur Morris, the Federalist ambassador to the United States to France, did not so much as turn a hand to secure the release of his fellow citizen. As a result of this unsympathetic attitude on the part of the administration, Paine published a letter in 1796 written to Washington in which he denounced the administration in a vigorous and unwise manner. And then during his imprisonment he penned another pamphlet, *The Age of Reason*, in which he set forth his religious views. Paine tells us that he wrote this pamphlet with a constructive rather than a destructive purpose. It was his opinion that the French revolutionists were going entirely too far when they attempted to overthrow all religion and he felt that he ought to do something to maintain a belief in what he regarded as the true religion. To quote his own words: "The circumstance that has now taken place in France of the total abolition of the whole national order of priesthood, and of everything appertaining to compulsive systems of religion, and compulsive articles of faith, has not only precipitated my intention but rendered a work of this kind exceedingly necessary, lest in the general wreck of superstition, of false systems of government, and false theology, we lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true." And then he sums up what he regards as the true theology:

> I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life.
>
> I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy.
>
> I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish Church, by the Roman Church, by the Greek Church, by the Turkish Church, by the Protestant Church nor by any Church that I know of. My mind is my own Church.
>
> All national institutions of churches, whether Jewish, Christian or Turkish, appear to me no other than human inventions, set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.[36]

35. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
36. *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, VI, p. 2. (From *Age of Reason*).

It will be seen at once that his religious views were essentially the same as those of Franklin and Jefferson. He believed in the existence of a God and in the immortality of the soul. But he rejected such articles of belief as the inspiration of the Bible, the deity of Christ, the doctrine of sin, and salvation through the substitutionary death of Christ. It seems a bit difficult to understand why these ideas should have served to bring Thomas Paine into such utter disrepute with his fellow Americans who were so ready and willing to overlook the same in Franklin and Jefferson and perhaps even in Washington. Perhaps it can be explained by the fact that Paine was more of a crusader than were his contemporaries. He made his position so unmistakably clear that "even a wayfaring man though a fool" could understand that he was hostile to fundamental Christianity. Perhaps this is why the stigma remained with him while others escaped.

The Age of Reason and his unwise criticism of Washington and the Federalists, when it became apparent that they had forsaken the revolutionary cause and had launched a counter-revolution in America, are no doubt the causes for Paine's disrepute with the American public. After he finally returned to America in 1802, Samuel Adams wrote him a letter and in a reference to *The Age of Reason* said, "I hear that you have turned your mind to the defence of infidelity."[37] This was the one thing which the American people have remembered about Thomas Paine. His name came to be generally despised. An election official who had been a "yellow" Tory in the days of the Revolution now denied him the right to vote; a stage driver refused to let him ride on his coach for fear they should be struck by lightning; America has erected for him no monument, and so persistent has been this attitude that even so great an American as the late President Theodore Roosevelt could do no better than speak of Paine as "a dirty little atheist."[38]

Such is the irony of fate. The name of one of the fathers of our country who did as much as any single man to bring about American independence and the establishment of the new nation has become a household word for all that is evil because of his religious views. And others holding essentially the same views have been placed upon pedestals of perfection and enshrouded in a veil of divinity, so that it behooves him who would escape the stigma of being regarded unpatriotic never to doubt for a moment the spotlessness and blamelessness of these quasi-divine beings. That the American people are "more sincerely religious, of serener minds, and of purer morals" than any other people is accepted as a major premise. From

37. Quoted by Muzzey, *loc. cit.*, p. 287
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 287, 288.

this, *via* two minor premises, there have been drawn two corresponding deductions: 1. Thomas Paine was hostile to Christianity, therefore he was not a good American and could not have had a prominent part in the making of our country. 2. Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and others are known to have been highly respectable and able leaders in the making of our country, therefore they must have been deeply pious, strictly religious, and absolutely removed from anything which savors of selfishness, partisanship, or political corruption. A large proportion of the American people is still interested in the glorification of the American nation far more than in a knowledge of the truth.

(Concluded in next issue)

The Mennonite Church and Hospital Work

Allen Erb

In October, 1905, at a regular conference of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference District held near Hubbard, Oregon, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved that this Conference approves of the movement to establish a sanitarium at or near La Junta, Colorado, and that we would advise that the incorporators, stockholders, and officers of the institution be members of the Mennonite and Amish Churches." With the support of Conference in this resolution a group of interested persons began gathering funds and prepared to erect a building. The Lord so prospered their efforts that on October 25, 1908, a large sanitarium for the treatment of tubercular patients was dedicated at a location five miles west of La Junta, Colorado. This was the first hospital built in the Mennonite Church. Since that date over a thousand patients have been cared for in this institution. Many were helped physically, while others came too late to be cured. Approximately fifty thousand dollars has been expended by the sanitarium in caring for those who had no funds or insufficient funds to pay for all their expenses.

On January 1, 1920, the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities assumed the management and control of the City Hospital in the city of La Junta. The City Hospital was the property of the La Junta Hospital Association. This Association turned over all its property, including some endowment property, for the use of the Church in conducting the hospital. Six years of effort since then has proved to the city of La Junta that the Church can do such work efficiently. It has also demonstrated to the Church the value and practicability of this type of work as a part of her ministry to the world.

The City Hospital was taken over because of a need which pressed itself upon the Mennonite Sanitarium. It had speedily become evident that those afflicted with diseases other than tuberculosis should be cared for. It was found impracticable to do this in the Sanitarium building. Therefore at the regular meeting of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities held at Kalona, Iowa, in May, 1919, a petition was presented to the Board requesting the building of a general hospital. In response a committee was appointed which made an investigation and reported to the Exec-

utive Committee of the Board. The Executive Committee referred the question to General Conference that year. In the meantime, while the investigation was on, an opportunity came to lease the City Hospital; the lease was taken. It was expected that this lease would continue until a new hospital was built, since it was not thought that this would be longer than two years. This lease has already been extended to six years and will be extended for at least one more year.

In the meantime by the procedure described above the question whether or not the Mennonite Church should build a general hospital had become a General Conference question. It was first considered at the regular conference session at Harrisonburg, Virginia, in August, 1919. A resolution of general endorsement was given, calling for the appointment of a committee of five to make an investigation and report to the next General Conference. During the next two years this committee ascertained by the questionnaire method and otherwise the sentiment of the entire Church on the question. The committee reported its finding to the General Conference in 1921 at Garden City, Missouri. When it was found that there was no very great enthusiasm for the work, the committee was retained to continue its investigation for another two years. The question was now referred to the General Conference for the third time at its session at Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, in 1923. A resolution was passed looking with general favor on this type of work in the Church, and asking the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities to proceed as it should deem wise and best.

With this authorization from General Conference the Board at its regular meeting at Sterling, Illinois, in May 1924, appointed a committee which was to plan the location and building of the new hospital. After a year of hard work this committee presented the following recommendations to the Board meeting held at Harrisonburg, Virginia, in May, 1925:

1. That the Board build a general hospital with a tubercular annex;
2. That the most suitable location for the institution is La Junta, Colorado;
3. That funds be solicited at once;
4. That as soon as sufficient funds are in sight, the architectural and construction work be placed in competent hands, and the work proceed as economically as possible, subject to standard requirements.

The recommendation was adopted. At once the program of soliciting the churches for funds was begun. Through this solicitation the hospital project received the official attention of almost every conference and

mission board in the Church. At the present time (January 1, 1927), almost the entire Church has been solicited, and a fund of about fifty thousand dollars has been raised in cash and current pledges.

It is proposed to build a new general hospital with beds for fifty patients, and a new sanitarium annex with a capacity for twenty tuberculosis patients. The cost of these buildings cannot be less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The financing of the project has been arranged in the following manner: 1. Fifty thousand dollars has been derived from the sale of the old Sanitarium; 2. The two Mennonite Churches in the La Junta district have subscribed about fourteen thousand dollars, and the City of La Junta twenty-three thousand dollars; 3. The balance required, about sixty-five thousand dollars, was to be raised by solicitation of the Mennonite congregations. With fifty thousand dollars of this balance in sight, the Board has authorized the building of the new hospital. The date set for the beginning of the construction is April 1, 1927.

The consummation of the project has seemed a long, slow process. But the philosophy of Browning has already proved true:

> "Oh, if we draw a circle premature
> Needless of far gain,
> Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
> That is our bargain."

Hospital efforts such as this are new not only to the Mennonite Church, but relatively to other Protestant denominations as well. In 1881 Dr. James Monroe Buckley, editor of the *Christian Advocate,* wrote an editorial which contained the following statement: "The Methodist Episcopal Church is today, as far as we can learn, without a hospital, dispensary, an industrial school, or, except in mission fields, an orphan asylum, under her control. We do not believe for one moment that this is the outcome of unfriendly conviction. It is the outcome of preoccupation; but now is it not time that somewhere we build a hospital?" Mr. George I. Seney read the editorial in his home and wrote to Dr. Buckley: "I offer you sixteen eligible lots valued at forty thousand dollars as a site, and one hundred thousand dollars in cash for the erection of a Methodist Episcopal Hospital, which shall be open to Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, heathen and infidel, on the same terms. The Methodist Episcopal Church now has sixty-nine hospitals with property and endowment valued at twenty-seven million dollars. It has forty-four homes for the aged, for retired ministers, for working girls, and for young men, and forty-four children's homes. The first Baptist hospital erected in the world was the Baptist State Sanitarium at St. Louis, completed in 1889

under the labors of Dr. W. H. Mayfield. Now in 1927 after only thirty-eight years of effort there are thirty-six Baptist hospitals in the United States with a capacity of four thousand beds, fifteen hundred student nurses, and a property valuation of fifteen million dollars.

It should be interesting to Mennonites to note that the first hospital in the United States, the Pennsylvania Hospital of Philadelphia, was sponsored largely by the Quakers. These good Quakers were the pioneers who blazed the trail and planted the seed that will ever stand as a monument to their courage, faith, and energy.

As is true of every new type of work, the hospital project has raised questions. What are the principles upon which this type of work is based? Are these principles consistent with the Bible and the practices of the Mennonite Church? Brief consideration will satisfy the intelligent questioner that there is nothing whatsoever in the way of such a project for the Mennonite Church, that through such work the Church will not only not suffer but will be blessed, and will render a notable Christian service to the world.

A hospital is a building well-built for the purpose of caring for the sick. In some hospitals, things are done which are not right, and there are hospitals where the spirit is not Christian. Yet this does not detract from the fact that the function of a hospital is to care for the sick, nor does it destroy the fact that it is recognized as the common duty of man to care for the sick, especially so of the Christian. The non-Christian may often be a faithful parent in providing for the home, yet it is not therefore the less important that a Christian excel in this same virtue. The fact that secular organizations have recognized the common duty of caring for the sick and have built hospitals, does not make it less important that the Christian should do so.

There are, among others, two Scripture passages that point out this duty quite plainly; first, the story of the Good Samaritan and the command of Jesus at the close, "Go and do thou likewise"; second, the Golden Rule, "Whatsoever ye would therefore that men should do to you, do ye even so to them". No consistent application of the Golden Rule or the story of the Good Samaritan would permit the Christian to take an indifferent "Let-George-Do-It" attitude. If caring for the sick of a community is a Christian duty, the Christian wants to have a consistent share in it. It is clear also that the missionary application of the Scriptures leads to hospital activity. "Heal the sick" was part of the instruction to the disciples. Just as truly today as then has the Church a physical ministry as well as a spiritual ministry toward the world.

Three principles among others characterize the Mennonite Church, and make the Mennonite Church especially qualified for this work:

1. The Mennonite Church practices love and good-will toward all men. What larger expression of good-will can be given in a community than the building of a hospital and the invitation to rich and poor, learned and unlearned, white and black, Christian and infidel, friend and enemy, "Our doors are open to serve you". In answer to the objection that pay is received for this service, it can be said that no one is denied service on account of inability to pay, and those who do pay never pay back the invested capital but only the expenses of operation. And after all the service itself is needed even though it is paid for. Experience has taught us that it is not necessary to do something free for a man to do him good.

2. The Mennonite Church does not believe in resorting to the modern artificial methods of helping the sick or needy, such as Life Insurance. By active ministry toward the suffering positive action is taken as well as negative in combatting such systems. If what the Church saves in refraining from Life Insurance were invested in an effort in our charitable institutions they would each have plenty and to spare.

3. The Mennonite Church practices separation from the world. But Christ has said that we are "in the world". Too often this attitude of the Church has seemed to be a selfish withdrawal from the needs of men "in the world". A certain business man of La Junta said some time ago, "I used to think the Mennonites were a clannish, selfish people, but since I was in the hospital and have seen their nurses caring for the sick I have changed my mind." Here is one legitimate means of securing a point of contact with men whereby our testimony may go out further to men. Of the ten lepers that were healed at least one came back to thank the Master. Of the ten that will come into an institution at least one will come back in gratitude to express appreciation and in that point of contact comes the opportunity to reach the soul. If the Church builds a house by the side of the road and tells the world to come in through the open door for the ministry of healing, all classes of men will have occasion to come, and come in contact with the Church. Thus an opportunity has been secured to meet men and bless them.

The Mennonite Church is well able to undertake this work. The Church is by no means doing all that she can. For a recent five-year period the per capita annual voluntary contribution of the Church to this work was four cents. In the present hospital solicitation for funds the per capita investment has been on the average but a little over one dollar. Certainly another effort like the one that has been made could be made in

another five years or ten. The Church should express her good-will to humanity in more than one hospital. With the gathering of a larger corps of nurses this is altogether practicable. The Hospital already has a nurses' Alumni Association with twenty-seven members. This group will be enlarged through the years. The Church should prepare for a normal expression of this force. The Catholic Church has her sisterhoods at work in every section of the country. Through this channel of influence the Church is gaining a great hold on many people. Silently the Sisters work on and advance the influence of the Church. A careful hospital work will advance the influence of the organization which promotes it.

A conscience must be established in the hearts of men in the Mennonite Church concerning this duty and opportunity for service toward the world in the ministry of healing. "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men."

Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature

A Critical Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana
I. The First Century, 1727-1827

H. S. Bender

Introduction

The collection of bibliographical data is the initial step in historical research. Those who have been interested in study and research in Mennonite History, both European and American, have long felt the need of an exhaustive and thoroughly critical bibliography of Mennonite literature. The few specialists in the field have no doubt acquired through years of study and investigation a comparatively satisfactory bibliography for their own purposes, but thus far no one has ventured to produce for general use the desired authoritative bibliography. It is with the intent to meet this long-felt need that the production of a series of bibliographies has been undertaken, which it is hoped will finally completely cover the field. These bibliographies will be published from time to time in the pages of the Mennonite Quarterly Review. If sufficient interest and demand appears they will be published in book form at a later date.

A bibliography is at the same time a bit of history. In itself it tells a story. As the titles pass by in review before the reader a story of the interests, the attitudes, and tendencies of the group which has produced the literature is unfolded to the understanding eye. And so this first bibliography of Mennonitica Americana will without any comment tell its own part of the story of the Mennonites of America, meager though it may be.

To the lover of books, a bibliography of old and strange books, with quaint and curious titles redolent of a by-gone age so different in its style as to seem fairly antique, is a delight. To such, this first century of Mennonitica Americana will have its own peculiar interest.

It is fitting that such a bibliography should appear in this year 1927, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the first printing of a Mennonite book in America for Mennonites, the Confession of Faith printed by Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia in 1727, with its appendix, larger than the Confession itself, "giving a short and full account of them; because of the immagination of the newness of our Religion".

The stream of imprints from that first apologetic issue to the present, was at first a mere trickle, and if one should omit the prints and reprints of the European Mennonite hymnbook, the AUSBUND, as well as the European Mennonite prayerbooks, catechisms and devotional literature, it would practically vanish until the time of the beginning of the production of devotional and polemical literature in the first decades of the nineteenth century. No doubt mastering and tilling a virgin wilderness, fertile though it might have been, did not leave much time for literary production. And who knows but that the early fathers were as pious and happy without their many books as we moderns are with our five-foot shelves, most of which we fail to read.

The first section of the bibliography as published in this issue of the REVIEW covers substantially one hundred years of literary production, almost one hundred and fifty years of American Mennonite life. The terminus ad quem, 1827, really marks an epoch, and that in several respects. Before this time there are no imprints to record from west of the Alleghenies, except one in Somerset, Pennsylvania, in 1810; but in 1833 the western imprints will begin. Finally, the imprints of Mennonite literature in Canada have not yet begun but are soon to begin at Berlin in 1836. The first century can thus be viewed as at least a printer's epoch.

The preparation of such a bibliography is naturally dependent upon the prior work and the cooperation of others. Although no exhaustive bibliography has yet appeared, the extensive list in Heatwole's MENNONITE HANDBOOK OF INFORMATION (1925) and the bibliographies in Smith's MENNONITES OF AMERICA (1909) and in Horsch's KURZGEFASSTE GESCHICHTE DER MENNONITEN (1890), are quite full. Horsch, to be sure, includes in his bibliography both European and American Mennonite productions, while Smith's bibliography is a bibliography of Mennonite History, not of American Mennonite literature.

The present list was built up on Hildeburn's PENNSYLVANIA IMPRINTS, 1685-1784, and the lists of Heatwole, Horsch, and Smith, together with the list of such books in the possession of the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College. Fundamental as a check were two great general bibliographies, that of German literature in America, 1728-1830, by Oswald Seidensticker, and the unrivalled work by Charles Evans called AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY 1639-1820 (complete only to and including 1794). The latter aims to furnish an exhaustive list with complete bibliographical data for all books printed in America. These and other bibliographical aids are listed in the appendix to the bibliography proper.

Finally the list in preliminary form was submitted to those historians and librarians who should be able to check it and guarantee its substantial completeness. Those who have thus kindly contributed to the value of the list are John Horsch, Scottdale, Pa., H. W. Kriebel, Assistant Custodian of the Schwenckfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pa., S. F. Coffman, Vineland, Ontario, L. J. Heatwole, Dale Enterprise, Virginia, Professor C. Henry Smith, Bluffton, Ohio, Dr. John W. Wayland, Harrisonburg, Virginia, J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana, and the librarians or their corresponding subordinates for The Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg, Pa., and the New York Public Library in New York City.

The style of the bibliography is modeled after that of Evans' American Bibliography, except where typographical limitations of the press publishing the REVIEW have made that impossible. The items are arranged in chronological order; where several items appear in the same year, alphabetical order of authors or of titles is followed. The data for each item consist of all the material appearing on the title page (with exception of Scripture quotations), the author, date, place, and publisher being supplied in parentheses where lacking, if known of a certainty. Brackets in the text reproduce parentheses in the original. The total number of numbered pages in the text, as well as in the independent appendices of length is noted. Unnumbered pages and indices are not noted. Size is indicated by the conventional symbols. Second titles are also given in full. In the case of reprints or revised editions, identical portions of the title are omitted, only variations being noted, and then not minor variations in punctuation. In every case the endeavor has been to reproduce faithfully the exact contents of the original title pages to the last jot and tittle, except in type forms. Capitalization, punctuation, spelling (however strange), and typographical errors are retained unchanged, since at times these alone furnish definite clues by which to distinguish undated editions. Since every item on the list up to and including the year 1794 is listed in Evans' American Bibliography, Evans' data are reproduced except where copies in hand prove Evans to be positively in error, cases of error being practically nil.

So far as possible, the complete list of reprints of each item is given with the first appearance of this item in the list. The accuracy of these lists of reprints beyond the year 1827 is not guaranteed, and is subject to revision with the publication of the lists covering later periods. English translations are listed on the same principle, subject to revision.

The compiler takes this opportunity to express his hearty appreciation for the cooperation of the numerous kind friends who have made

possible whatever degree of exhaustiveness and accuracy the list has attained. The compiler alone however is responsible for errors which may appear.

A bibliography such as the one under discussion is of real value to the research worker only if the locations of rare items are known. To this end, a list of locations, when such are known, is appended at the end of each item in this first list, private collections being referred to only in case the item is not in a collection accessible to the public. The list is not exhaustive.

January 8, 1927 Harold S. Bender.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

* Line omitted. . . . . Portion of title omitted. ? Information not conclusive. ( ) Matter not in original but supplied from later editions or other sources. HSP, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; PSL, Pennsylvania State Library; NYPL, New York Public Library; MPH, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa.; GCL, Goshen College Library; SHL, Schwenckfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, Pa.; LCP, Library Company of Philadelphia; JCL, Juniata College Library; BCL, Bluffton College Library; BM, British Museum; AAS, American Antiquarian Society; MHL, Massachusetts Historical Society; SMG. S. M. Grubb, Philadelphia, Pa.; LJH, L. J. Heatwole, Dale Enterprise, Virginia; JKR, Joseph K. Ruebush, Dayton, Virginia. Library locations are listed in order of richness of the reporting libraries. Copies in private hands are listed only where no known copy is in the possession of a public library or institution. Only HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL LCP are listed in full.

MENNONITICA AMERICANA 1727-1827

[1693 An Exhortation & Caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of Negroes]

(*New York*: *Printed by Wm. Bradford,* 1693.) pp. 6, 4to. E 636 H 61

The Friends Reference Library, Friends House, Euston Road, London, has a copy of this rare tract. The original in Pastorius' handwriting, signed by four Germantown settlers, one Quaker, two Mennonites, and Pastorius, was presented to the Dublin, Pa., Friends' Quarterly Meeting, February 20, 1688, referred to the Philadelphia Meeting, and then to the yearly meeting, but rejected as "not so proper for this meeting to give a Positive Judgment, It having so general a relation to many other parts, and, therefore, they at present forbore it." It was issued finally by the Philadelphia Monthly meeting of the Keithian Quakers, August 8, 1693, with the following preface: "Given forth by our Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, the 13th day of the 8th month, and recommended to all our friends and brethren, who are one with us in our testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ, and all others professing Christianity." The tract, though issued by a Quaker Monthly Meeting, was a protest to Quakers against the holding of slaves by Quakers, and is not of Quaker origin but came from men reared in the Mennonite faith. Though not a Mennonite imprint, it should find a place in a bibliography of American Mennonite literature.

[1712 The Christian Confession of the Faith of the harmless Christians, in the Netherlands, known by the name of Mennonists.]

Amsterdam: 1712. pp. 40, 16mo. HSP

Printed by the Mennonites in Amsterdam for the American Mennonites on request of the Mennonite ministers of Pennsylvania.

1727 The Christian confession of the Faith of the harmless Christians, in the Netherlands, known by the name of Mennonists.

Amsterdam Printed, and Re-printed and sold by Andrew Bradford, in Philadelphia, in the year, 1727. pp. 40, 44, 16mo. E 2924 H 298 HSP PSL LCP

Second title: An Appendix to the Confession of faith of the Christians, called, Mennonists. Giving a short and full account of them; because of the immagination of the newness of our Religion, the Weapon and Revengeless Christendom, and its being. Published formerly in the Low-Dutch, and translated out of the same into High-Dutch, and out of that into the English Language, 1725.

Philadelphia: *Printed by Andrew Bradford, in the year,* 1727. pp. 44.

Reprints: New Market, Va. 1810; Doylestown, Pa. 1814; West Chester 1835; Skippackville 1836.

This is the second English edition of the Dordrecht Confession of Faith adopted in 1632, printed in Dutch in 1658, ratified by the Mennonites of Alsace and Switzerland in 1660, printed in German at Amsterdam in 1664 with the appendix by Gerhard Roosen of Altona, Germany, reprinted at the same place in 1691, and in 1711. The first English edition of 1712 does not contain the appendix which was translated in 1725.

1742 Ausbund. Das ist: Etliche schoene Christliche Lieder, Wie sie in dem Gefaengnuess zu Bassau in dem Schloss von den Schweitzer-Bruedern,

und von anderen rechtglaeubigen Christen hin und her gedichtet worden. Allen und jeden Christen welcher Religionen sie seyen, unparteyisch fast nuetzlich.

Germantown: *Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur,* 1742. pp. 812, 20, 46, 16mo. E 4884 H 746 HSP PSL NYPL LCP

Appendices: Confessio oder Bekanntnuess von Thomas von Imbroich. pp. 20.
Ein Warhafftiger Bericht von den Bruedern im Schweitzerland, in dem Zuercher Gebiet, wegen der Truebsalen welche ueber sie ergangen seyn, um des Evangeliums willen; von dem 1635sten bis in das 1645sten Jahr. pp. 46.
Reprints: Germantown 1751, 1767, 1785, 1815; Lancaster 1834, 1846, 1856, 1880, 1908; Elkhart, Indiana 1880, 1905, 1913; Kutztown, Pa. 1922.

This Mennonite Hymnbook was first issued about 1570 (first dated edition 1583), and at least ten other times in Europe, the last time at Basel in 1838. A large number of the hymns were composed by a group of Swiss Brethren in prison at Passau on the Danube ca. 1535. The remainder of the hymns are of the 16th. century. The appendices are not to be found in the European editions. The Ausbund was used by the Swiss and South German Mennonites only. It is still in use among the Amish in this country. All the American editions up to the Lancaster edition of 1880 may be distinguished from the European editions by the perpetuation of a printer's error in the first American edition, Passau being spelled Bassau. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon* knows of additional reprints at Lancaster 1868 and 1912 (see article *Ausbund*). The existence of these editions could not be verified. Evans is wrong in suggesting editions of 1757 and 1758, and Flory, in suggesting one of 1752.

1744 (Funck, Heinrich)
Ein Spiegel der Tauffe mit Geist mit Wasser und mit Blut. Verfasset in neun Theil, Auffs Neue ausgesetzt und ausgezogen aus dem Heiligen Fundament-Buch, des Neuen und Alten Testaments, der Cononischen Bucher. . . . (Heinrich Funck)

(*Germantown*:) *Gedruckt* (*Bey Christoph Saur*) *im Jahr* 1744. pp 94, 16mo. E 5400 H 879 HSP

Reprints: 1834; New Berlin, Pa. 1850; Schippach 1853; Lancaster 1861.
English Translation: Mountain Valley, Va. 1851; Lancaster 1890.

Saur, being an immersionist, refused to put his imprint on a publication defending another mode of baptism. The reprint of 1834 does not contain publisher's imprint.

1745 Gueldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen Oder: Schoene und nuetzliche Worte und Wahrheiten zur Gottseligkeit. Enthalten In Sieben Haupt-Theilen, die in diesem Buch zusammengestellet sind: Mit sonderbarem Fleiss von denen in der vorigen Edition haeufig eingeschlichenen Druck-fehlern gereiniget. Nebst angehaengten Vorreden und einem Zweyfachen Register.

Efrata, Im Jahr des Heils 1745, *verlegt durch etliche Mitglieder der Mennonisten-Gemeine.* pp. 519, 16mo. E 5603 H 932 HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL

This book contains the epistle from Michael Sattler to the Church at Rottenburg, 1527; Confession of Faith by Thomas von Imbroich, and numerous other testimonials, epistles, prayers, and hymns by Mennonite martyrs. Previous editions appeared in Europe in 1702 and 1742. The American edition is the first book printed on the Cloister Press at Ephrata. It was issued in two editions, according to Evans, who states that the one with preface was intended for use of the Ephrata Cloister itself, the other without preface for the use of the Mennonites. The two copies in the possession of the Goshen College Library differ in title page but both have the preface, being identical otherwise. The second copy differs in title page by inserting a list of contents after "sind", in nine lines, by omitting the last sentence, "verlegt, etc." and by spelling Efrata *Ephrata*. This copy carries the title page of the first copy bound in at the end.

1745 Das Andenken einiger heiligen Martyrer. Oder die Geschichten etlicher Blut-Zeugen der Wahrheit. Nebst jhren Briefen welche sie kurtz vor und in der Gesangenschafft geschrieben, Wie solches in dem blutigen Tooneel zu finden. Aus dem Hollaendischen gruendlich und treulich uebersetzt durch Theophilum.

Ephrata: Bruederschaft. 1745. pp. 120, 24mo. E 5703 HSP

This is a part translation of the *Dutch Martyrs' Mirror* which was translated in whole by the same person, and published by the same press in 1748-9. Theophilum was a member of the Ephrata Cloister.

—— Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht Darinnen Schoene Geistreiche Gebetter, Darmit sich fromme Christen-hertzen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Noehten troesten Koennen. Nebst einem Anhang Einer Aus dem blutigen Schau-Spiel uebersetzten Geschichte zweyer Blutzeugen der Wahrheit, Hans von Oberdam u. Valerius des Schulmeisters.

Gedruckt in Ephrata im Jahr 1745. pp. 166, 12mo. E 5585 H 928 HSP NYPL

Reprints: Ephrata 1770, 1785, 1808; Somerset 1810; Lancaster 1841, 1852, 1862, 1868, 1875; Berlin (Ontario) 1878; Elkhart 1886, 1894, 1907; Scottdale 1915, 1924.

The appendix does not appear in later editions, but other appendices appear in the editions from 1785 on.

1748 Van Braght, T(ieleman) J.

Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer-Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten oder Wehrlosen-Christen, Die um des Zeugnuss Jesu Ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getoedtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormals aus unterschiedlichen glaubwuerdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnuessen gesammlet und in Hollaendischer Sprach herausgegeben von T. J. V. Bracht. Nun aber sorgfaeltigst ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht.

Ephrata in Pensylvanien, Drucks und Verlags der Bruederschafft. Anno MDCCXLVIII. pp. 55, 478, and 949. Folio. E 6256 H 1050 HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL LCP

Reprints: Pirmasens (Germany) 1780; Lancaster 1814; Philadelphia 1849; Elkhart 1870; Scottdale 1916.

English: Near Lampeter Square (Lanc. Co.) 1837; Elkhart 1886 (Direct from the Dutch of 1660).

This was the largest book printed in the American Colonies before the Revolution. Some copies were supplied with a frontispiece showing Christ being baptised by immersion. This being distasteful to the Mennonites, who were not immersionists, the plate was omitted from most copies. GCL has an exemplar of each type.

1751 Ausbund . . . .

Germanton: Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer, 1751. pp. 812, 20, 46, 40, 16mo. E 6632 H 1205 HSP PSL MPH SHL LCP

Appendix: Fuenf Schoene Lieder Das Erste Tobias war ein frommer Mann. Das Andere Kuertzlich vor wenig Tagen Das dritte Es ist ein wunderschoene Gab. Das vierte Mein froehlich Hertz das triebt mich an. Das fuenffte Es was ein Gottes fuerchtiges und Christliches Jungfraeulein.

(*Germantown*) *Gedruckt* (*bey Christoph Saur*) *im Jahr* 1752. pp. 40, 16mo. E 6847 H 1257

This edition of the Ausbund contains a third appendix of five hymns, in addition to the two appendices of the first edition. All the supplementary matter was printed in 1752 as the imprints on the title pages show, but was bound together with the Ausbund and should not be counted as separate items.

1763 Funck, Heinrich

Eine Restitution, Oder eine Erklaerung einiger Haupt-puncten des Gesetzes: Wie es durch Christum erfuellet ist, und vollkommen vollendet wird werden an seinem grossen Tage; Nach Inhalt der Heiligen Schrift, des Neuen und Alten Testaments. Aufgesetzet in 25 Theil durch Einen Lehrer des Neuen und Alten Testaments, in der Gemein der Glaeubigen in Jesum Christum: die man mit dem Bey-namen nennet die Wieder-Taeuffer oder Menonisten. Heinrich Funck. Matth. II, 25, 26 * * * * Verlegt und zum Druck befoerdert durch die von Henrich Funcks hinterlassenen Kindern.

Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Anton Armbruester in Moravian Ally, 1763. pp. 308, 8vo. E 9393 H 1895 HSP PSL MPH GCL SHL

Reprints: Biel (Schweiz) 1844; Lancaster 1862.
English: Elkhart 1915.

Heinrich Funck, (d. 1760) author of *Ein Spiegel der Tauffe,* was the only religious writer of the Mennonites in the 18th century in America. Christopher Dock's writings were pedagogical, though very religious, and Christian Funk's *Aufsatz* was but a sixteen page personal defence. The Biel reprint was the first European reprint of an American Mennonite Author.

(Schabalie, Johann Philip)

Die Wandlende Seel, das ist: Gespraech der Wandlenden Seelen mit Adam Noah und Simon Cleophas; verfasset die Geschichten von der Erschaffung der Welt an biss zu und nach der Zerstoerung Jerusalems. (Von Johann Philip Schabalie) In Niederlaendischer Sprach geschrieben: Anjetzo aber in die Hochdeutsche Sprach uebersetzt von B. B. B.

Germanton: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1763. pp. 8, 463, 25, 12mo. E 9511 H 1921 LJH

Reprints: Germantown 1768, 1771, 1794, 1805; Harrisburg 1822, 1833, 1834, 1840; Carlisle, Pa. 1834; Philadelphia 1847; Scottdale 1919; Philadelphia undated (called 13th. ed.).
English: _____; Lancaster 1874 (2d. ed.)

The first edition (in reduced form) of this very popular Mennonite devotional book appeared in Dutch in Amsterdam in 1635 and in enlarged form passed through ten further editions up to and including 1742. Several German editions had appeared in Germany before the Germantown edition of 1763. The list of reprints and translations as here given is certainly not complete.

1764 to 1770 Dock, Christoph

COPIA EINER SCHRIFFT welche der Schulmeister Christoph Dock, an seine noch lebende Schueler zur Lehr und Vermahnung aus Liebe geschrieben hat.

Geistliches Magazien. Num. 33. pp. 263-270, 8vo.

HUNDERT NOETHIGE SITTEN-REGELN FUER KINDER.

Geistliches Magazien. Num. 40. pp. 319-334, 8vo.

ZWEY ERBAULICHE LIEDER, welche der Gottselige Christoph Dock, [Schulmeister an der Schipbach] seinen lieben Schuelern, und allen andern die sie lesen, zur Betrachtung hinterlassen hat.

Geistliches Magazien. Num. 15 (Vol. II.). pp. 153-157, 8vo.

[EIN GEISTLICHES MAGAZIEN oder: Aus den Schaetzen der Schrifftgelehrten zum Himmelreich gelehrt, dargereichtes Altes und Neues. (Volume I)]

Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1764. pp. 406, 8vo. E 9676 HSP GCL

Ein Geistliches Magazien, the first religious magazine in the country, was distributed free in issues of approximately 5,000 (Flory, p. 154). In all, sixty-four numbers appeared in two series, 1764-1770, and 1770-1773 (?), fifty numbered numbers appearing in the first series, and fourteen in the second series. The numbers of the second series are numbered from one to fifteen, the last number being a misnomer.
The material in the *Magazien* from Dock was reproduced in facsimile by M. G. Brumbaugh in his *Life and Works of Christopher Dock,* 1908, with a translation. S. W. Pennypacker translated the *Hundert Noethige Sitten-Regeln* and one of the hymns, in his *Historical and Biographical Sketches,* 1883.

1767 AUSBUND . . . . Nebst einem Anhang von fuenff Liedern. Zum dritten mal aufgelegt in Pennsylvanien.

Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1767. pp. 812, 96, 12mo. E 10548 H 2275 HSP NYPL MPH GCL LCP

1768 Schabalie, J. P.

DIE WANDLENDE SEEL. (Title modified as follows) . . . . (zerstoerung) verwuestung Jerusalems. Daraus ordentlich zu ersehen, wie eine Monarchie und Koenigreich auf die andere folget, wie diese angefangen jene aber vergangen, und auch der ausfuehrliche Verlauff der Zerstoerung Jerusalem. Durch Johann Philip Schabalie . . . .

Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1768. pp. 463, 16mo. E 11067 HSP PSL NYPL

1769 (Roosen, Gerhard)
CHRISTLICHES GEMUETHS-GESPRACH von dem Geistlichen und Seligmachenden Glauben und Erkaentnuess der Wahrheit, so zu der Gottseligkeit fuehret in der Hoffnung des ewigen Lebens, Tit. IV. 1. In Frag und Antwort fuer die ankommende Jugend, wodurch dieselbe zu einer heilsamen Lebens-Uebung moechte gereitzt und gebracht werden . . . (Gerhard Roosen)
Ephratae Typis Societatis Anno MDCCLXIX. pp. 168, 8vo. E 11446 H 2480 HSP PSL NYPL
Reprints: Ephrata 1770; Germantown 1790; Lancaster 1811, 1836, 1869; Berlin 1839; Elkhart 1868, 1873.
English: Berlin 1846; Lancaster 1857, 1870, 1878.

1770 Dock, Christoph
EINE EINFAELTIGE UND GRUENDLICH ABGEFASSTE SCHULORDNUNG, Darinnen deutlich vorgestelt wird, auf welche Weisse die Kinder nicht nur in denen in Schulen gewoehnlichen Lehren bestens angebracht, sondern auch in der Lehre der Gottseligkeit wohl unterrichtet werden moegen, Aus Liebe zu dem menschlichen Geschlecht aufgesetzt durch den wohlfahrenen und lang geuebten Schulmeister, Christoph Dock. Und durch einige Freunde des gemeinen Bestens dem Druck uebergeben.
Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1774. pp. 54, 8vo. E 11636 BM SHL

The *Schulordnung* was written in 1750 on request of Christoph Saur, on condition that publication be withheld till after Dock's death. Nevertheless Dock consented to the publication in 1770. He died in 1771.

—— Ditto: . . . Die Zweyte Auflage.
Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1770. pp. 54, 8vo. E 11637 H 2522 HSP SHL
Reprint: Columbiana, Ohio 1861. Facsimile in Brumbaugh, *Life and Works of Christopher Dock,* 1908, with translation. Also translated by Pennypacker in *Historical and Biographical Sketches,* 1883.

—— DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . .
Ephrata, Drucks und Verlags der Bruederschafft, Anno MDCCLXX. pp. 99, 12mo. E 11648 H 2526 HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL

—— (Roosen, Gerhard)
CHRISTLICHES GEMUETHSGESPRAECH . . . . Der Wahrheit zum Besten.
Ephrata: Typis Societatis Anno MDCCLXX. pp. 248, 12mo. E 11648 H 2526
Appendix: Christliches Glaubens-Bekenntnuss Der Waffen-losen und fuernehmlich in den Niederlanden (unter dem Namen der Mennonisten) wohl bekannten Christen. Anhang der Confession, Fuerstellende Einen

kurtzen und ausfuerlichen Bericht von wegen der Junckheit unserer Religion des Waffen- und Rachlosen Christenthums und dessen Zustand.

Some minor changes in title as compared with the 1769 edition should be noted. Tit. IV. 1. becomes Tit. I. 1. and is followed by "Ans Licht gegeben". This issue is bound with the previous item, paging being discontinuous but signatures continuous. The text occupies pp. 1-184. Then follows the Confession of Faith (Dordrecht, 1632) in German, pp. 185-215, with its "Anhang", pp. 215-248.

1771 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEEL . . . . Die Zweite Auflage.

Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1771. pp. 463, 16mo. E 12221 H 2706 HSP PSL NYPL

1775 A SHORT AND SINCERE DECLARATION, To our Honorable Assembly, and all others in high or low Station of Administration, and to all Friends and Inhabitants of this Country, to whose Sight this May Come, be they English or Germans.

(*Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller, November* 7, 1775). Folio Broadside. E 14526 LCP

A Protest by the Mennonites of Pennsylvania, with whom the German Baptists (Dunkers) associated themselves, to the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania.

—— EINE KURZE UND AUFRICHTIGE ERKLAERUNG an unsere Wohl Meinende Assembly und alle andere Hohe und Niedrige in der Regierung und alle andere Freunde und Einwohner dieses Landes, denen dies zu Gesicht kommen mag, sowohl Englische als Deutsche. Den. 7. November, 1775.

(*Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Heinrich Miller,* 1775.) Folio Broadside. E 14257 MPH

Reprint: Berlin 1840.

Christian Funk was excluded from the Mennonite Communion by his fellow ministers in 1777 because he favored the payment of the military tax for the support of the Revolution which was imposed by the State of Pennsylvania. A small fraction followed him but the party soon died out. In 1813 appeared a booklet entitled, "Spiegel fuer Alle Menschen", which concerns itself with Funk's life, written by himself. It is several times as long as the *Aufsatz,* but it could not be ascertained whether it contains a translation of the same or not.

1785 AUSBUND . . . . Nebst einem Anhang von Sechs Liedern. Zum vierten Mal aufgelegt in Pennsylvanien.

Germantaun: Gedruckt bey Leibert und Billmeyer, 1785. pp 812, 103, 16mo. E 18919 HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL

The *Anhang* of "Fuenff Schoene Geistliche Lieder" has increased to six.

—— DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . .
Ephrata. Der Bruederschafft, 1785. pp. 199, 8vo. E 19002 PSL NYPL MPH

1785 Funk, Christian

EIN AUFSATZ ODER VERTHEIDIGUNG von Christian Funk gegen seine Mitdiener der Mennonisten Gemeinschaft.

Germantown: *Leibert & Billmeyer,* 1785. pp. 16, 8vo. E 19015 HSP

[1787 DAS GANZ NEUE TESTAMENT unseres Herrn Jesu Christi. Recht Gruendlich verdeutschet. Anhang: Vier Schoene Geistliche Lieder.]

Ephrata in Pennsylvanien, Anno 1787. pp. 792, 4, 12mo. E 20235 HSP PSL MPH LCP

Colophon: Vormals verschiedene mal gedruckt zu Zuerch, Basel, und Frankfurt und Leipzig: jetzt aber in Ephrata auf Kosten der Brueder im Jahr 1787.

The "Froschouer" New Testament, at this time used only by the Mennonites, was no doubt printed especially for them. The Amish Mennonites still prefer the Froschouer version to the Luther version because of certain readings.

1790 (Roosen, Gerhard)

CHRISTLICHES GEMUETHSGESPRAECH . . . .

Germantown: *Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer,* 1790. pp. 241, 16mo. E 22858 HSP PSL NYPL GCL SHL

Appendices: Etliche Christliche Gebaete, Welche Die versammlete Glaubigen, oder ein jeder absonderlich, nach Gelegenheit der Zeit und der Sachen Nothwendigkeit (fuer Gott) mit Andacht und gebeugten Knien des Herzens gebrauchen moegen.

Germantaun: *Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer,* 1790.

Christliches Glaubens-Bekenntniss Der Waffen-losen, und fuernehmlich in den Niederlaendern [unter dem Namen der Mennonisten] wohlbekanten Christen.

Zwey erbauliche Lieder, welche der Gottselige Christoph Dock [Schulmeister an der Schipbach] seinen lieben Schuelern und allen andern die sie lesen, zur Betrachtung hinterlassen hat. (Four additional hymns are added after those of Dock.)

These appendices form a permanent part of the *Gemuethsgespraech* after this edition. The hymns by Dock had appeared earlier in the second volume of *Ein Geistliches Magazien,* number 15, about 1770.

[1792 Denner, Jacob

JACOB DENNERS Christliche und erbauliche BETRACHTUNGEN ueber die Sonn und Festtags Evangelia des ganzen Jahrs, nebst einem Anhange verschiedener Predigten ueber besondere Texte, sowohl aus dem Alten als Neuen Testamente; und einer Vermehrung von den dreyen Predigten ueber das heilige Vater Unser. Durch Gottes Gnade in offentlicher Versammlung in Altona muendlich vorgetragen und auf Begehren dem Druck ueberlassen.

Neue auf kosten Johannes Herrstein und Johannes Schmutz gemachte Auflage. Welcher die Betrachtung vom Adel des Gewissens, und eine

Nachricht von dem Lebens Umstanden des seligen Herrn Denners beygefuegt worden.]

Frankenthal am Rhein. gedruckt bei Ludwig Bernhard Gegels seel. Wittib. 1792. pp. 1502, 4to. MPH BCL

Reprint: Philadelphia 1860.

The Sermons of Jacob Denner (1659-1746), Mennonite Minister at Altona, were first published in 1730. This new edition was printed for the Pennsylvania Mennonites under the direction of the two Franconia men whose names appear on the title page. Five hundred were printed. (Cf. Smith, Mennonites of America, pp. 419f.) Though not an American imprint, nor an American composition, the title should be included in this list since it was published by two American Mennonites for American use exclusively.

1794 Schabalie, J. P.

DIE WANDLENDE SEEL . . . . Die Dritte Auflage.

Germantaun: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Peter Leibert, 1794. pp. 463, 8vo. E 27674 MPH

—— S.(imons,) M.(enno)

EIN FUNDAMENT UND KLARE ANWEISUNG von der seligmachenden Lehre unsers Herrn Jesu Christi. Aus Gottes Wort kurz begriffen. Aus der Niederlaendischen Sprache in die Hoch Deutsche gebracht und uebersezt, mit etlichen andern lehrhaften Buechlein, von dem Author dieses FUNDAMENTS auch geschrieben und gemacht; so vor dieser Zeit besonders sind gedruckt gewesen; nun aber auch hieben gefuegt und gestellt, und also zu einem gemeinen Handbuch geordnet und gemacht. Durch M. S. Item, Alle Puncten und Artikel, auch allerley Sprueche und Vermahnungen, die in diesem Buch begriffen, leichtlich zu finden, ist ein huelflich und schoen Register hinzu gefuegt und gedruckt. I Corinther 3. * *

Gedruckt in Europa im Jahr 1575.

(*Lancaster*) *Pennsylvanien, gedruckt* (*bey Johann Albrecht & Comp.*) *im Jahr Christi* 1794. pp. 675, 8vo. E 27310 HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL

Reprints: Lancaster 1835, 1853, 1876; Schippach 1851.

English: Allentown 1849; Lancaster 1835, 1869; Elkhart.

The first edition of the *Fundament-Buch* appeared in 1575. At least one other European German edition had appeared before the American edition was issued. A portion of *Menno Simons Works* appeared at Osnaburgh, Ohio in 1833 under the title, *Zeugnisse der Wahrheit.* The *Complete Works* appeared in the German at Elkhart, 1876-1881, in the English at the same place in 1871.

1803 (Funk, Christian)

DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE der Kinder Zions, oder auserlesene Geistreiche Gesaenge, allen wahren heilsbegierigen Saeuglingen der Weissheit insonderheit aber allen Christlichen Gemeinden des Herrn zum Dienst und Gebrauch mit Fleiss zusammen getragen, und in gegenwaertiger Form und Ordnung gestellt; nebst einem dreyfachen Register. Erste Auflage. Auf Verordnung der Mennonisten Gemeinden.

Germantaun: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, im Jahr 1803. pp. 39, 412, 12mo. HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL

Reprints: Germantown 1811, 1820; Northampton 1834; Doylestown 1848; Lancaster 1870.

This first American Mennonite Hymnbook is not to be confused with one of similar title printed by Saur at Germantown in 1753, called erroneously by Seidensticker and Flory a Mennonite Hymnbook.

1804 (Burkholder, Christian)
NUETZLICHE UND ERBAULICHE ANREDE AN DIE JUGEND, Von der wahren Busse, von dem Seligmachenden Glauben an Jesu Christo, und der reinen Liebe zu Gott und seinem Nechsten. Nebst der Gehorsame der Worte Gottes, und der reinen uebergab der Seelen, an die Hand Gottes. Vorgestellt in Frag und Antwort. Wie wird ein Juengling seinen Weg unstraefflich gehen? Wenn er sich haelt nach deinen Worten. Psalm 119, v. 9.

(Ephrata?): Gedruckt (bey Bauman und Cleim) im Jahr MDCCCIV. pp. 39, 4to. HSP

Reprints: Ephrata 1804; Allentown 1829; Berlin 1839; Elkhart 1868, 1873. (In the last three editions as appendix to *Gemuethsgespraech,* but with edition number).

English: Lancaster 1857, 1870. (As appendix to English of *Gemuethsgespraech.*)

—— (Burkholder, Christian)
NUETZLICHE UND ERBAULICHE ANREDE AN DIE JUGEND, von der Wahren Busse, vom Seligmachenden Glauben an Christo Jesu, und der Reinen Liebe zu Gott und seinem Naechsten; und dem Gehorsam der Worte Gottes und der Reinen Uebergabe der Seelen an Seine Hand. Vorgestellt in Fragen und Antworten. Nebst Einem Anhang von fuenf und dreyssig Fragen, aus unserm alten Frage-Buechlein genommen; und etlichen erbaulichen Liedern und Gebetern. Wie wird in Juengling seinen Weg unstraeflich gehen, Wenn er sich haelt an deinen Worten? Psalm 119. v. 9. Zum zweytenmal herausgegeben.

Ephrata: Gedruckt bey Bauman und Cleim, 1804. pp. 92, 12mo. HSP NYPL GCL SHL

—— UNPARTHEYISCHES GESANGBUCH, enthaltend Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des wahren Gottesdienstes. Auf Begehren der Bruederschaft der Mennonisten Gemeinen aus vielen Liederbuechern gesammelt. Mit einem dreyfachen Register. Zum erstenmal ans Licht gestellt.

Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Albrecht, 1804. pp. 415, 17, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH GCL

Reprints: Lancaster 1808, 1820, 1829, 1841, 1848 (stereotyped), 1857, 1865, 1871, 1880; New Berlin (Union Co., Pa.) 1851, 1854.

This hymnbook is still in use among some groups of Mennonites, especially among the Old Order Mennonites of Ontario. Copies of all the earlier editions may be found in use in a church near Markham, Ontario, including the first edition.

1805 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEEL . . . . . Die vierte Auflage.
Germantaun: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Michael Billmeyer, 1805. pp. 463, 12mo. HSP GCL SHL

1808 DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . . .
Ephrata: Gedruckt bey Johannes Baumann, 1808. pp. 202, 24mo. HSP MPH GCL

Appendix: Fuerstellung der vornehmsten Articklen unsers allgemeinen Christlichen Glaubens wie dieselben in unserer Gemeine durchaus gelehret und belebet werden. pp. 173-202. (Dordrecht Confession, 1632. Appears in all later editions).

—— UNPARTEYISCHES GESANGBUCH . . . . . Zweyte verbesserte Auflage mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Georg und Peter Albrecht, 1808. pp. 415, 17. HSP PSL GCL

1810 THE CHRISTIAN CONFESSION OF FAITH of the Harmless Christians in the Netherlands known by the name of Mennonists. Amsterdam. Printed and *Reprinted by Ambrose Henkel and Comp. New Market, Shenandoah County, Virginia,* 1810. pp. 34, 39, 16mo. MPH SHL

The Appendix is the same as in the former edition. The title page reads: Printed by Andrew Bradford, in Philadelphia, in the Year, 1727, and reprinted by Ambrose Henkel . . . .

—— DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . . .
Somerset (Pa.): Gedruckt bey Friedrich Goeb, 1810. MPH

1811 DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE . . . . . Zweyte Auflage.
Zugabe einiger auserlesenen Lieder.
Germantaun: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, im Jahr 1811. pp. 412, 20, 16mo. HSP NYPL MPH

—— Philips, Dietrich
ENCHIRIDION ODER HANDBUECHLEIN, von der Christlichen Lehre und Religion. Zum Dienst von allen Liebhabern der Wahrheit (durch die Gnade Gottes) aus der Heiligen Schrift gemacht. Mit einem schoenen und fasslichen Register Durch Dietrich Philip. I Thess. 5, 19 * * *. Zuvor gedruckt zu Harlem [in Holland], jezt aber auf das treueste uebersetzt in hochdeutsche Sprache, durch die Liebhaber der Wahrheit.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Joseph Ehrenfried. 1811. pp. 568, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH GCL SHL

Reprints: New Berlin 1857; Elkhart 1872; Scottdale 1917.
English: Elkhart 1910.

The first edition of Philips' *Enchiridion* appeared at Harlem in 1564, in Dutch, and later at the same place in 1578, 1579, 1600, 1627. A German edition appeared in 1715, another at Basel in 1802. A French edition appeared at Lionnois (Lyons?), 1626. The book is still popular among the Amish because of its strict teaching on the Ban and Avoidance.

1811 (Roosen, Gerhard)
CHRISTLICHES GEMUETHSGESPRAECH . . . .
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich und Benjamin Grimler,* 1811. pp. 241, 24mo. HSP GCL SHL

1813 (Funk, Christian)
SPIEGEL FUER ALLE MENSCHEN; oder nutzanwendungen aus dem Leben und Wandel Christel Funk's, eines in seinem Leben treu gewesenen Mennonisten-Predigers des gottlichen Worts durch und viele Jahre nach der americanischen Revolution. ("Written by me, Christian Funk, the 10th day of November 1809 in the 76th year of my age." According to note at close.)
Reading: *Gedruckt bey Johann Ritter und Comp. fuer die Verleger,* 1813. pp. 54, 12mo. NYPL SHL
English: Norristown, 1814.

1814 THE CONFESSION OF FAITH of the Christians called Mennonists or German Baptists To which is added an Appendix containing a short, but full account of them. Translated from the German.
Doylestown: *Printed by Asher Miner,* 1814. pp. 64 HSP JCL
Appendices: An Appendix to the foregoing Confession of Faith.
: A tender Christian like Defence of Menno Simons. pp. 59-64.

—— (Funk, Christian)
A MIRROR FOR ALL MANKIND or Instructive Examples from the Life and Conduct of Christian Funk, a Faithful Minister of the Word of God Among the Mennonites During and Many Years after the American Revolution Translated from the German.
Norristown: *J. Winnard,* 1814. pp. 47, 12mo. HSP PSL SHL

Occasional references to editions of the Mirror in 1804, 1805, and 1809 have arisen through some unaccountable confusion. It is clear that the English edition was translated from the German which was written in November, 1809, according to the testimony of the author, and first published in 1813.

—— Van Braght, Tieleman J.
DER BLUTIGE SCHAU-PLATZ, ODER MARTYRER SPIEGEL . . . .
Zweyte Americanische Auflage.

Lancaster: (Pennsylvanien) Gedruckt bey Joseph Ehrenfried. 1814. pp. 608, Folio. HSP PSL MPH GCL SHL

This edition by Ehrenfried is a beautiful specimen of printing and binding. The binding is in highly polished calf. According to J. F. Funk of Elkhart, Ehrenfried was forced into bankruptcy because of his heavy loss on this edition.

1815 AUSBUND . . . . Zum fuenftenmal aufgelegt in Pennsylvanien. *Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Joseph Ehrenfried.* 1815. pp. 812, 52, 42, 16mo. HSP MPH GCL SHL

—— Herr, Johannes

DER WAHRE UND SELIGE WEG, der mitten unter dem Creutz gen Himmel geht. Oder Eine greundliche Lehre aus Gottes Wort, allen Liebhabern der Wahrheit zur Befoerderung und Auferbauung ihrer Seligkeit, Durch Johannes Herr.

Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Joseph Ehrenfried, 1815. pp. 333, 24mo. HSP GCL

Reprint: Lancaster 1874.

English: Harrisburg 1816. New tr.: Lancaster 1875, 1887; Buffalo 1890 (In *Complete Works*)

1816 Burkholter, Peter

EINE VERHANDLUNG VON DER AEUSSERLICHEN WASSER-TAUFE, und Erklaerung einige Irrthuemer, wie auch von der Feuer-Taufe und wie in Christo das gesetzliche Osterlaam aufgehoertet, und das Abendmahl eingesetzt, und wie man den Geist Gottes erkennen soll von den Geistern des Irrthums, Durch Peter Burkholter ein Lehrer der Christlichen Religion, im Jahr unsers Heilandes 1815.

Harrisonburg: Gedruckt bey Laurentz Wartmann, Rockingham County, Virginia, 1816. pp. 59, 16mo. HSP SHL

English: Dale Enterprise, Va. 1882.

—— Funk, Joseph

Die allgemein nuetzliche CHORAL MUSIC. enthaltend: auserlesene Melodien, welche bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebraeuchlich sind. Auf zwey Stimmen gesetzt. Begleitet, mit einer Vorrede, ueber die Music, oder Tonkunst; und mit einer, zum Grunde der Vocal-Music vollstaendigen Einleitung. Eingerichtet zum Gebrauch des Oeffentlichen Gottesdienstes, Sing-Schulen und Privat-Uebungen. Verfasset von Joseph Funk. Ps. 71. 23. *

Harrisonburg, gedruckt bey Laurentz Wartmann, Rockingham Caunty, Virginia, (1816.) Copyright secured, according to law. pp. 88, 8½x4⅞ in. JKR

Contents: Vorrede, pp. 3-16; Einleitung, 17-23; Music, 24-80; Ein Gespraech zwischen einem Schueler und seinem Lehrer, 81-85; Nachricht, 86; Register, 87-88. The *Nachricht* is signed "Geschrieben im Monat Juli, 1816. J. F." According to tradition handed down by John Funk, son of Joseph Funk, and reported by Dr. J. W. Wayland, the book was printed in 1816.

The *Nachricht* states that many of the melodies are taken from the Reformed Hymn Book, that Pastor Johannes Braun wrote the Vorrede, and that Dr. Salomon Henkel bore a substantial share of the printing costs.
Choral-Music is the first Mennonite musical production, and was evidently intended for general use. Joseph Funk and his sons continued to publish for years a long series of music-books and hymn books, of which the most famous was the *Genuine Church Music,* later called *Harmonia Sacra.* Joseph K. Ruebush continues the Funk printing establishment at Dayton, Virginia. J. F. Funk of Elkhart took over the Mennonite portion of Joseph Funk and Sons press.

—— Herr, John
THE TRUE AND BLESSED WAY which leadeth beneath the Cross To Heaven or A True Doctrine from the Word of God, for the benefit of every lover of the Truth, and the encouragement of their salvation by John Herr.
Harrisburg: *William Greer,* 1816. pp. 314, 24mo. HSP PSL

1819 Herr, Johannes
EINE KURZE UND APOSTOLISCHE ANTWORT von mir Johannes Herr Auf den Brief von Abraham Reinke, Prediger in Litiz. An mich geschrieben im July, 1819: welcher bald hernach im Druck erschienen, und dem Publikum vorgelegt worden ist.
(*No imprint*). pp. 70, 16mo. HSP SHL
Reprint: Harrisburg, 1842.
English: 1853 or 36; Lancaster 1875, 1881; Buffalo 1890 (In *Works*).

The date most likely is 1819 or 1820. Reinke's letter had appeared in a second edition already in 1819. Cf. Seidensticker, and Bausman, *Lancaster County Bibliography. Einige Worte Wohlgemeinter Rath an Johannes Herr,* Lancaster, 1819.

1820 DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE . . . .
Germantaun: *Michael Billmeyer,* 1820. pp. 420, 21, 16mo. PSL MPH SHL

—— UNPARTEYISCHES GESANGBUCH . . . . Dritte verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer,* 1820. pp. 472, 18, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH GCL
Appendices: Erster Anhang, pp. 415-448.
: Zweyter Anhang, pp. 448-47?

The first Baer Mennonite imprint.

1822 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEEL . . . . .
Harrisburg: *John S. Wiestling,* 1822. pp. 6, 454, 12mo. PSL

1824 KATECHISMUS, oder kurze und einfaltig Unterweisung aus der heiligen Schrift, in Fragen und Antwort fuer die Kinder zum Gebrauch in den

Schulen. Ausgegeben durch die Christliche Gemeine im Waldeckischen, welche Mennonisten genennet werden. I Cor. 3;11. * *
Ephrata, gedruckt bey Joseph Bauman 1824. SMG
Reprints: Doylestown 1844; Schippach 1848; and at many other times and places.

1827 Herr, Johannes
ERKLAEUTERUNGS-SPIEGEL oder eine gruendliche Erklaerung von der Bergpredigt unsers Herrn Jesu Christi Allen Liebhabern der Wahrheit zur Pruefung ihres Glaubens und zur Beforderung ihrer Nachfolge in der Lehre unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi. Durch Johannes Herr.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer,* 1827. pp. 394, 24mo. HSP PSL MPH
Reprint: Lancaster 1854.
English: Lancaster 1834, 1858, 1875; Buffalo 1890 (In *Works*).

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHIES LISTING AMERICAN MENNONITE LITERATURE

No independent bibliographies have been published. The following books contain bibliographies of more or less comprehensiveness and value.

HEATWOLE, L. J. *Mennonite Handbook of Information.* Published by Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., 1925. Contains in Chapter XXIV, pages 131-143, under the heading "List of American Mennonite Books and Periodicals", a fairly complete list of first editions issued by members of the Mennonite Church. For the most part productions of other Mennonite groups in America are not listed. The list contains almost two hundred and fifty titles, chronologically arranged, listing short title, date of publication, author, and number of pages. It is a valuable list, but not critically edited.

HORSCH, JOHN. *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-gemeinden. Nebst einem Abriss der Grundsaetze und Lehren, sowie einem Verzeichniss der Literatur der Taufgesinnten.* Elkhart, Indiana, Mennonite Publishing Company, 1890.

The "Verzeichniss der Literatur der Taufgesinnten" appears on pages 107-133, under the title "Buecher und Schriften der Taufgesinnten". Section 1 lists printed works alphabetically, covering in twenty pages as completely as possible all the literature produced by Mennonites in Europe and America from the beginning down to the date of compilation, and including all the editions and reprints of the same known to the writer. The bibliographical data is fairly complete. The list was carefully prepared and all the items in the list had either been seen, or verified in other lists, by the compiler. The list is very comprehensive, containing about 170 American imprints. Because of the critical data contained, it is more valuable than that

of Heatwole, but extends only to 1890. Section 2, consisting of six pages, lists manuscripts by Mennonites, chiefly letters. None of the manuscripts listed are of American Mennonite origin.

SMITH, C. HENRY. *The Mennonites of America.* Goshen, Indiana, 1909. The last chapter, entitled "Bibliography", discusses matters bibliographical with reference to sources for American Mennonite History, pages 456-462, and concludes with a list of over two hundred items with quite full data, not giving however first editions, nor listing reprints. Concerning this list the author says, "The following list practically exhausts the materials, secondary and original, on the American Mennonites, and includes some of the most important works on the German and Swiss Anabaptists." Since this list is not a bibliography of Mennonitica Americana but a bibliography on American Mennonite history, it is of less value for the present purpose than either of the preceding lists. The same is true of the list in the author's later book, "The Mennonites", Berne, Indiana, 1920.

HARTZLER, JOHN E. *Education among the Mennonites of America.* Danvers, Illinois, 1925. The bibliography at the end of this volume is designed to cover the special subject matter of the book, but contains some helpful suggestions for a general bibliography.

HAUSSMAN, W. O. *German-American Hymnology,* 1683-1800. Johns Hopkins Doctoral Thesis reprinted in *Americana Germanica* by M. D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, 1894 (?).

Standard Bibliographies of Americana useful for the purposes of this work were:

SEIDENSTICKER, OSWALD. *First Century of German Printing in America, from* 1728 *to* 1830.

DITTO. *Deutsch-amerikanische Bibliographie bis zum Schlusse des letzten Jahrhunderts.* Published in *Der Deutsche Pionier,* Vols. VIII-XII. Not available for this work and superseded by the English title above.

HILDEBURN, CHARLES R. *A Century of Printing. The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania,* 1685-1784. 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1885-6.

EVANS, CHARLES. *American Bibliography.* Chicago, 1915—.

BAUSMAN, LOTTIE M. *A Bibliography of Lancaster County Pennsylvania* 1745-1912.

FLORY, JOHN S. *Literary Activity of the German Baptist Brethren in the Eighteenth Century.* Elgin, Illinois, 1908. The Appendix contains a complete list, chronologically arranged of the issues of the Saur Press and the Leibert Press.

Did Menno Simons Practice Baptism by Immersion?

John Horsch

In certain ecclesiastical circles of America the opinion is persistently maintained that Menno Simons defended immersion as the Scriptural mode of baptism. The justification for this view is supposed to be found in a certain passage contained in the earliest editions of one of his books. This opinion is defended despite the fact that not only various Mennonite writers but also a number of Baptist historians, e. g., Ira Chase, Henry Burrage, August Rauschenbusch, William H. Whitsitt, Walter Rauschenbusch, and others, have shown that it is unfounded. One of the most recent statements on the point in question was made by a writer in *The Review and Expositor* (Louisville, Ky., January, 1926, p. 69), who says, "Menno plainly teaches that immersion is New Testament baptism, and it seems certain that he practiced immersion for part of his career."

A number of years ago a friend wrote me that, according to reliable information in his possession, the English translators of Menno's works omitted a passage which shows that he practiced baptism by immersion. In my reply I reminded him that such an assertion should be made only after the passage in question has been found in the early Dutch editions of his writings. I failed to receive a reply to my letter.

An article on the question under consideration, written by Elder John Kline, was published in *The Gospel Visitor*, in 1856, and reprinted in *The Vindicator* for January, 1910. In this article it is stated that in *Menno Simons' Works,* published in 1539 (sic!), page 24, the following sentence is found: "After we have searched ever so diligently, we shall find no other baptism but dipping in water, which is acceptable to God and approved in his word."

In *Menno Simons' Complete Works* (Elkhart, Ind., 1871, part 2, page 204, col. 2), the same passage which is a part of the lengthy refutation of infant baptism, is given as follows:

"For however diligently we may search day and night, we find but one baptism in the water which is acceptable to God and expressed and contained in his word, namely the baptism on the confession of faith, commanded by Jesus Christ, taught and administered by his holy apostles."

"But of the other baptism, that is, infant baptism," Menno adds, "we find nothing."

The point in question is, Is this a correct translation from the original, or is the rendering which makes Menno Simons an immersionist correct?

At this juncture it should be noticed that Elder Kline, in the article mentioned above, claimed that the passage as given by him is a faithful translation from an early Dutch edition of Menno Simons' Works. This assertion has been repeated by other writers. After quoting the sentence which would show that Menno baptized by immersion, Kline says further: "His Works have since been translated and reprinted, and this passage, as well as others, has been changed. We are thankful that we still have this noble testimony for immersion in the old copies of his Works, and we intend to keep them for a testimony against those who would give spurious copies of this man's Works to the world."

On the same point, Elder David Metzler wrote, in 1915, in *The Gospel Messenger* an article which was reproduced in other papers. In it he asserted that the quotation given by John Kline is the correct translation of the passage as found in a copy of Menno's Works "Which is at present in one of our college libraries". The reference is to a copy of Menno Simons' booklet, *On Christian Baptism,* printed in 1539, which, together with two other booklets of Menno, is contained in a small volume formerly owned by Abraham Cassel, of Harleysville, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. At the present time it is in the library of Juniata College, in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and may be examined by any one interested.

In 1875, while this book was at the home of Abraham Cassel, a comparison of the texts in question was made, on the suggestion of John F. Funk. Two members of the Mennonite Church, A. F. Kratz and Henry Bower, visited Mr. Cassel and compared the passages, as given in his book, with the text of the first Dutch edition of *Menno's Works,* printed in 1646. They found a verbal agreement. Their testimony was corroborated by Cassel himself who, in a letter to John F. Funk, stated that there is no difference in the two texts except in orthography (owing to a difference of over a century in the time of publication). The present writer also made a careful comparison a number of years ago, with the same result. The original Dutch text in the editions of 1539 and 1646, as well as in the folio edition of 1681, follows:

"Want hoe neerstelijk wy ook soeken des nachts ende daegs, soo bevinden wy nochtans niet meer dan een doopsel in den water dat Godt aengenaem is, uytgedruckt ende begrepen in Godts woort, namelijk dit doopsel op den Geloove, bevolen van Christo Jesu, heleert ende gebruyckt

van sijnen Heyligen Apostelen." (*Menno Simons' Complete Works,* Edition of 1646. p. 767; Edition of 1681, p. 409; Booklet of 1539, sig. E2.)

The English translation of this passage, as quoted above from the *Complete Works,* is a correct rendering. The charge that it has been changed is absolutely unfounded. On the contrary, the rendering of the passage which would indicate that Menno baptized by immersion is not really a translation. It does not give the sense of the original. It garbles and mutilates the passage and renders the Dutch word "doopsel", meaning baptism, as "dipping".

Such then is the nature of the supposed evidence for the assertion made by the writer of the above mentioned article in *The Gospel Messenger,* that "Menno Simons stood on the side of immersion".

The spurious rendering of the passage in question can be traced to a book by Morgan Edwards, a Baptist, written in 1770. While there is no possible excuse for it, it need not be supposed that there was any intention to deceive. It is more charitable to suppose that the writer was unfamiliar with the Dutch language.

The most notable author to repeat and expound the supposed proof that Menno Simons baptized by immersion was J. Newton Brown whose booklet, *The Life and Times of Menno, the Celebrated Dutch Reformer,* saw various editions in both English and German.

In Menno's *Foundation Book* (*Complete Works,* part 1, page 38, col. 2) is found a pertinent statement concerning which the late William H. Whitsitt, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, said rightfully that it is "his most definite expression touching the act of baptism." It is as follows: "I certainly think that these and similar commands (to love one's enemies, to crucify the flesh and the lusts thereof) are more painful and burdensome to perverted flesh, which is everywhere so prone to walk in its own way, than it is *to receive a handful of water.*" (Italics by the author.)

The Discipline Adopted by the Strasburg Conference of 1568

H. S. Bender

Introduction

After the first bitter fire of persecution for the Swiss Brethren and Mennonites had died down, there was a period of relative quiet and respite from severe tribulation. The power of the movement had been broken in South Germany, political conditions were somewhat different, in some districts local rulers were more tolerant, and the Swiss Brethren were after all few in number. It was during this period, about 1540 to 1570, that Menno and the Philips brothers were active in North Germany, and Pilgram Marbeck assumed the leadership in South Germany with Ulm as a center. The names of leaders in Moravia, Switzerland, and along the upper Rhine, do not stand out so prominently. That there was considerable connection between the various groups, partly through itinerant preachers and missionaries is well known. The emissaries of the Hutterite groups in Moravia were active throughout all central and southern Germany. and leaders passed back and forth between north and south and the Netherlands. The names and influence of Menno and Dirk Philips were beginning to spread southward and a sense of unity was arising.

One evidence of this unity in spirit is the attempt to bring about a unity in organization and especially in discipline. Aside from the early conferences of 1526 and 1527 at Strasburg, Augsburg, Schlatten am Randen, etc., the first important conference of which record has been kept was that held at Wismar in North Germany in 1554 where practically all the leaders from North Germany and many from the Netherlands met and adopted a discipline consisting of nine rules. In 1555 a conference of South German leaders was held at Strasburg chiefly to decide the question of the true nature of the Incarnation. A report from this conference was sent to Menno and his associates. This conference apparently did not adopt a discipline.

In 1557 another conference was called at Strasburg because of considerable objection to the strictness of the Wismar discipline on the practice of avoidance, though of course the discipline was not binding on the South German brethren. This conference was attended by over fifty ministers

and deacons from Moravia, Switzerland, Suabia, The Palatinate, Alsace and Wurtemberg. It is uncertain as to whether this conference actually adopted a discipline or not. They did send emissaries to Menno urging milder rules. No known copy of a possible discipline adopted by this conference is extant.

In 1568 another important conference was held at Strasburg which adopted the discipline of twenty-three rules which is herewith presented in the original German and in English translation. The attempt to reconcile the divergent viewpoints of the North and South German brethren which was initiated by the conference of 1557 had failed; henceforth each group prepared its own discipline. Apparently this discipline of 1568 was the first discipline adopted by the South German brethren, after the one drawn up at Schlatten am Randen in 1527.

The copy of the above discipline used in the present reproduction and translation was made by Jacob Swartzendruber in 1860 and was given to the Goshen College Mennonite Historical Society by D. B. Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa, in August, 1926, through President Yoder of the College. Mr. Swartzendruber is a descendant of Jacob Swartzendruber. His grandfather, Friedrich Swartzendruber, a son of Jacob, had made a copy of his father's manuscript in 1878, which was also given to the Historical Society by Mr. Swartzendruber.

A third copy of the discipline, made by Peter Unsicker at Beissenhofen (Germany) in 1836, is in the Library of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania. It was loaned for comparison through the kindness of the librarian, Mr. John Horsch. The copies agree word for word except that the Unsicker copy does not contain articles nineteen to twenty-three and lacks altogether the discipline of 1630 which is attached to the Swartzendruber copy. Doubtless the same original lies behind both copies, possibly that made by Christian Guengerich of Huenenghausen. This copy was secured from Peter Hostetler, late bishop in the Defenceless Mennonite Church in Illinois, who came from Germany to America at an early age. No doubt other copies of the discipline in manuscript form are to be found among the various Amish communities of America and Europe.

In 1905 William Yoder, an Amish Bishop of the community near Nappanee, Indiana, published the Strasburg Discipline, together with additional articles adopted at Obersueltzen, and elsewhere, adding to them disciplines adopted at various times in America, in 1809, 1837, 1865, under the title, "Artikel und Ordnungen der Christlichen Gemeinde in Christo Jesu." The printing was done by the Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart. The little booklet contains 16 pages, 16mo.

According to a note, the original copy was made by Peter Schrak March 8, 1838, and recopied by Johannes C. Schlabach December 19, 1878. William Yoder made his copy July 28, 1904.

William Yoder's text contains the first twenty articles of the text published in this number of the REVIEW, with minor variations, adding to it three additional articles which are to be found in the text used by Pohl in the Gemeinde-Kalender of 1906. Yoder apparently modernized the text in spelling and to some extent in grammar and vocabulary. An interesting variation, to be noticed likewise in some of the other manuscripts, is the requirement in article 19 that the tailors and seamstresses shall abide by the plain and simple *custom of the land* (Brauch des Landes) in the making of clothes. The second paragraph of this article as found in the 1836 and 1860 texts, which refers to the keeping of the *regulation of the Church* regarding clothes, rather than the custom of the land, is apparently a later addition and not part of the original discipline.

Apparently the line of descent of the present manuscripts has been through the Swiss Brethren who attended the Conference at Strasburg in 1568, then through the Amish groups who migrated from Switzerland into Alsace, The Palatinate, and Waldeck (or Hesse). Finally with these same Amish groups in their migration to America it found its way through Somerset County, Pennsylvania, and Holmes County, Ohio, to Indiana and Iowa.

The Gemeinde-Kalender for 1906, published at Kaiserslautern by the Conferenz der Sued-deutschen Mennoniten, contains an interesting article on the discipline adopted by the Strasburg Conference, by Mathias Pohl of Sembach, Rheinpfalz, pp. 134-143. Pohl had found a manuscript of the discipline in twenty-two articles with additional articles adopted in a conference at Obersueltzen, and at Ofenstein in 1688, in the possession of Peter Kipfer in the Emmenthal community near Langnau, Switzerland. The articles presented by Pohl agree exactly article for article with the articles (1568) presented in this issue of the REVIEW. Variations are minor. Pohl gives a paraphrase of the articles point by point, with a few explanatory comments. The original text is however not reproduced. The introduction is very brief and is not historical in nature.

An interesting feature of the manuscript is an old painting of the seventeenth century, apparently contemporaneous with the writing of the manuscript, representing the reception of an applicant for baptism by a group of Mennonite ministers. The Yearbook and Almanac published by the Eastern Mennonite Conference at Philadelphia, edited by N. B. Grubb, in the issue for 1907, reproduced the picture and translated a

portion of Pohl's paraphrase from the Gemeinde-Kalender. Unfortunately however the Yearbook and Almanac does not make clear the fact that the translation is not from the original but from the paraphrase and does not indicate at all that the material presented is from the Strasburg discipline. On the contrary the statement concerning the time and place of origin of the articles is somewhat confused. It is stated that the articles were adopted at Obersueltzen in 1676, with supplementary articles adopted in 1688. As might be expected, a translation of a paraphrase is sometimes considerably different in sense from the original.

Dr. C. Henry Smith refers to the Strasburg Conference and discipline of 1568 in his *The Mennonites*, pp. 126-7, where the essence of some of the rules is summarized. The source used is not indicated, though it is possibly the material in the *Gemeinde-Kalender* and *Yearbook and Almanac* referred to above. Reference is made to at least two rules not to be found in the manuscript reproduced in the REVIEW.

Ernst Mueller in his *Geschichte der Bernischen Taeufer,* Frauenfeld, 1895, refers to the Strasburg discipline of 1568 and 1607 with brief characterization and summary on pages 50-52.

GERMAN TEXT OF THE STRASBURG DISCIPLINE WITH THE APPENDIX OF 1630

Abred der Diener und Aeltesten aus vielen Orten in Versamlung zu Strassburg im Jahr 1568, wie auch Anno 1607 in der Strassburger Versamlung wieder erneuert worden.

(1.) Erstens. Die Hinlaessigkeit der Versamlung abzuwarnen, diejenigen so ohne goettliche Ursachen die Gemein verlassen, ein ernstliches Einsehen zu tun und solches nicht zu gestatten.

2. Sollen die Diener die naechsten Gemeinden durchziehen und alle Maengel besehen, und die Brueder durch die heilsame Lehr troesten, und mit ihnen sollen reisen bestaetigte Aelteste durch welche die angehende Aelteste in der Haushaltung moechten unterwiesen werden.

3. Sollen die Diener und Aeltesten der verlassenen Diener Weib und Kinder so in Gefahren reisen oder in Gefangenschaften sind besuchen und versorgen und troesten auf das sich jeder mag der bruederlichen Liebe und Versorgung troesten und freuen, er werde gefangen oder komme sonst in Abgang.

4. Solle man alle diejenigen so von derowegen ausgesand mit aller Notdurft versorgen und abfertigen u. s. w.

5. Soll man der Weisslein gedenken dass sie vor anderen Dienstbohten aufgenomen werden, und mit der Zucht auch dermassen wie Kinder gehalten werden.
6. Sollen die armen, unerzogenen Kinder und Weisslein der Bruedern und Aeltesten nach der Gelegenheit von dem gemein Gut erzogen werden, die reichen aber von ihren Gut um ein billiges sollen erzogen werden.
7. Sollen die Diener so bestaetiget sind die Gemeinden durchziehen, alle Aemter besetzen, und wo nicht ist Diener und Aeltesten bestaetigen mit Auflegung der Haende.
8. Soll in Brodbrechen kein Gesatz gehalten werden ob [obs] der Diener breche und gebe oder ob [obs] ein jeder breche, allein soll [es] jederman gemahnet werden dass es in unschuldigen Herzen und Gewissen und in einigkeit mit Christo ein Brodt sey [sein] und Brechen, doch soll keiner in keinen anderen Gebrauch genoetigt werden und ein jeder in der Gemein darin er ist.
9. Das Demuehtigen und Niederknien derjenigen so gesuendigt haben und wiederkommen mit busfertigen Herzen, es soll vor Gott im Herzen geschehen, hiermit soll aber das Niederknien in Gebaerden nicht aufgehoben seyn.
10. Soll die Meydung gebraucht werden an denjenigen so die Wahrheit des Evangeliums und die Bruederschaft verlassen, dass den Namen Gottes und der Bruederschaft schaden moechte zugefuegt werden, derhalben begehren wir dass man sich aller Abgefallenen entziehe mit aller Mass und Bescheidenheit nach Grund der Aposteln.
11. Ein Bruder oder Schwester soll je eins das andere empfangen mit dem Kuss des Herrn, die aber nicht aufgenomen sind, die soll ein Bruder oder Schwester nicht mit dem Kuss empfangen, sondern sagen, der Herr komme dir zu Huelfe.
12. Es sollen diejenigen die sich in ehlichen Stand begeben wollen dasselbige mit Rath und Wissen der vorgesetzten und Aeltesten geschehen, auch in der Furcht Gottes angefangen werden und es fueglich ist auch ihren Aeltern zu wissen tun und anzeigen.
13. Ob die Glaubigen von den Unglaubigen Ehegemahlen vervolgt und ausgetrieben seyn sollen mit fleysigen Gebeth und bey den Herrn anzuhalten ermahnet werden auf die Gedult bis der Herr ein Auskommen geben wird, derhalben solche Gefahr zu erwarten sollen sich die Glaubigen im Herrn und nicht in Unglauben verheurahten, es seyn Jungfrauen, Knaben oder Wittling.
14. Der Menschenwerdung Christi halber soll man bey der heiligen Schrift bleiben wie ihn [im] Paulus bezeugt, ein Sohn Gottes nach dem Geist und

ein Sohn Davids nach dem Fleisch, und wie ihn [in] Petrus bekennt, ein Sohn des lebendigen Gottes, und so viel wie moeglich ist, sich alles disputierens zu hueten und zu enthalten.

15. Alle diejenigen die sich zu uns thun wollen und aber von andern getauft sind, die soll man mit Fleiss erforschen, ob ihnen die Buss gebuertig und sie an Christo geglaubt und darauf getauft sind, die sollen nicht wiederum getauft werden.

16. Es soll sich kein Bruder in Kaufen, oder Bauen, oder in sonst in grosse unnoehtige* Handthierung begeben ohne Rath und Wissen und Willen der Brueder und Aeltesten.

17. So sich ein Bruder oder mehr mit Anfahung (?) oder Auflehnung wider die Diener und Aeltesten und Unruh anzurichten aufbaumen, so soll solchen nach Art des Evangeliums abgemahnt und gestraft werden und seyn Ummenlaufen (?) [Ammen lassen (?)] und hinterreden niemand gestatten oder von keinem Bruder oder Schwester solches verlaumden von Fremden oder Einheimischen angenomen werden, sondern auf die Ordnung gewiesen.

18. Auch so sich jemanden der Gemein wuerde wider die Diener und Aeltesten auflehnen, der soll von den Aeltesten gestillet werden, und hinter sich gemahnet werden, damit sie nicht kleinmuehtig werden.

19. Die unter den Bruedern wildfangen oder schiessen wollen, die sollen abgemahnt werden nach der Ordnung des Herrn, und wen sie ungehorsam sind solle sie mit dem Ban gestraft* und* ausgeschlossen werden wo nicht ein freyen Preis ist.

*20. Die Schneider und Neher sollen bey dem schlechten und einfaeltigen Brauch bleiben und gar nichts zu Hoffart machen.

*20. Die Brueder und Schwestern sollen bey den Stand unser Ordnung der Kleidertracht stehen bleiben und nichts zur Hoffart machen lassen.

*21. So ein Bruder oder Schwester Geld oder Baarschaften haben und jemand will zu behalten geben, die sollen es Bruedern oder Schwestern geben und nicht der Welt vertrauen.

*22. Wen ein Bruder oder Schwester Schulden bey der Welt hat mag ers wohl bey der Obrigkeit lassen fordern und ihnen Ziel machen lassen aber darnach nichts lassen pfaenden.

*23. Wan ein Bruder soll wachen oder hueten in Dorf, Feld, Holz, oder Wald, der mag einen dingen wan es zur Beserung dient oder selbst Hueten doch niemand zu schaden bringen, auch kein Gewehr tragen als Spiess und dergleichen.

* indicates omission of the word or section in the 1836 text. Words in brackets are found in the 1836 text in place of the word they follow.

Noch ein anderen Ordnungsbrief. Abred auf den 10 Tag Weinmohnats Anno 1630. Sind die Schweizerbrueder des Schweizerlandes bey einander gewesen, bey Hoffingen, in der finstern Thuellen, und haben sich mit einander ersprachet, beredt und vereinbaret der Ordnung des Evangeliums in der Gemein Gottes nach Laut der alten Bruedern Erkentnis und Angeben besser aufzuwachen, daran zu halten und Sorg zu tragen wo etwas versaumt worden waehre.

1. Wo ein Bruder oder Schwester eine offentliche Suend begeht, Gott wolle es verhueten, die sollen oeffentlich gestraft werden.
2. Wen jemand Truebsal halber wegziehen wolte, dass ihnen nicht gestattet werden, ohne goettliche Ursach.
3. Dass sich keiner soll von obrigkeitlichen Rechten treiben lassen, auch keine Kosten auf jemand treiben was Schulden Geld betrifft.
4. Dass ein angestellter Diener, der ein gut Zeugniss hat, und vertraut ist beym Voelkly, der mag wohl das brodbrechen, taufen und Ehen zusamen geben, strafen und ausschliessen, wo sonst kein bestaetigter Diener vorhanden waere, der etwa durch Ursach verhindert worden.

Abgeschrieben—1733, 1774; von Christian Guengerich zu Hueninghausen, 1 Maerz 1789, 14 Apr. 1800, 1820.

Diesen Ordnungsbrief habe ich von Friederich Hagi an der Maertenskrueck erhalten in Ohio im Jahr 1860 und seinem Sohn zuruekgegeben in Iowa. Abgeschrieben von mir Jacob Schwarzendruber.
Der Schreiber dieser Abschrift, Jacob Schwarzendruber, war geboren im Jahr 1800 zu Mengeringhausen wohl eine Stunde von obengemeldeten Hueninghausen im Waldekigen in Teutschland und ist gestorben im Jahr 1868 am 5ten. Juni in Johnson County, Iowa.

Friedrich Schwarzendruber.

N. B. The text as reproduced above is a literal reproduction of the original text of the 1860 manuscript copy. Old spellings are reproduced except where the same word is spelled correctly elsewhere in the same copy. Punctuation and capitalization of the original is not followed as it is apparently quite capricious. For instance, nouns are often begun with small letters while verbs and adjectives are capitalized. Except for very minor variations in spelling and punctuation the text agrees literally with the text of the 1836 manuscript. The three or four major variants are indicated with brackets in the text. Most strange is the complete absence of articles 19 to 23 in the earlier text, as well as the additional articles of 1630.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE STRASBURG DISCIPLINE

Agreement of the ministers and bishops of many localities in conference at Strassburg in the year 1568, and reaffirmed at the Strassburg conference in 1607.

(1.) (It was decided) To warn against leaving the meeting, to earnestly admonish those who leave the meeting without godly causes, and not to permit it.

2. The ministers shall visit the neighboring congregations, and supply their needs, and comfort the brethren with wholesome teaching; with these shall travel ordained bishops by whom the oncoming bishops may be instructed in pastoral care (Haushaltung).

3. The ministers and bishops shall visit, provide for, and comfort the wives and children of those ministers who travel in danger or are in prison, so that the ministers may be comforted and gladdened by the assurance of brotherly love and care, whether he be in prison or absent for other reason.

4. All those who are sent out for this purpose shall be provided and furnished with all necessities.

5. Orphans shall be remembered and taken in before other servants, and shall be disciplined as children.

6. The poor, undeveloped children and orphans of brethren and bishops shall be brought up as opportunity affords from the common property; the rich orphans however shall be brought up from their own property for a reasonable allowance.

7. Such bishops as are ordained shall visit the congregations, fill all offices, and where there is a vacancy, they shall ordain ministers and bishops by laying on of hands.

8. In the communion there shall be no fixed rule observed as to whether the minister shall break and give or each one break. But each one shall be admonished so that in blameless heart and conscience and in unity with Christ there may be one bread and one manner of breaking. Yet no one shall be forced to accept another usage, and each one shall commune in the congregation in which he is.

9. The kneeling and self-humbling of those who have sinned and return with penitent hearts shall take place in the heart before God but the actual kneeling in posture shall not be done away with by this.

10. The avoidance shall be practiced toward those who forsake the truth of the Gospel and the brotherhood, causing reproach to the name of God and the brotherhood; therefore we desire that the brethren in all temperance and lowliness withdraw from those who have fallen away, according to the teaching of the apostles.

11. The brethren and sisters, each to each, shall greet each other with a holy kiss; those who have not been received into fellowship shall not be greeted with a kiss, but with the words, "The Lord help you".
12. Those who wish to enter the state of matrimony shall do so with the knowledge and counsel of the ministers and bishops, and it shall be undertaken in the fear of God; and since it is fitting they should inform and report to their parents.
13. If believers are persecuted and driven from their homes by unbelieving husband or wife, they shall be encouraged to continue in earnest prayer to the Lord for patience until he shall show a way out; in order to avoid this danger believers shall marry only in the Lord, and not in unbelief, whether they be maidens, youths, or widows (or widowers).
14. As regards the incarnation of Christ, one should abide by the Scriptures according as Paul testifies concerning Him, a Son of God after the Spirit, and a Son of David after the flesh, and according as Peter confesses Him, a Son of the living God; and as far as possible all disputing should be avoided and omitted.
15. All those who wish to unite themselves with us, but have been baptised by others, shall be diligently examined, whether they have repented, and have believed on Christ, and have been baptised thereupon; such shall not be baptised again.
16. No brother shall engage in buying or building or other large, [unnecessary] business dealing without the counsel, knowledge, and consent of the brethren and bishops.
17. If one or more brethren assert themselves to cause trouble by attacking or withstanding the ministers or bishops, such an one shall be warned and censured in a gospel manner, and such gossip and backbiting shall not be allowed to anyone, nor shall such slander be accepted by any brother or sister, whether from strangers or from home people, but such matters shall be dealt with according to the regulation.
18. Also, if a member of a congregation shall withstand the ministers and bishops, he shall be silenced and admonished privately by the bishops lest they be discouraged.
19. Those among the brethren who catch or shoot game shall be warned according to the order of the Lord, and if they are disobedient, they shall [be punished] with the ban [and] expelled, unless it is done in free territory.
20. Tailors and seamstresses shall hold to the plain and simple style and shall make nothing at all for pride's sake.
20. Brethren and sisters shall stay by the present form of our regulation concerning apparel and make nothing for pride's sake.

21. If a brother or a sister has money or valuables and wishes to entrust them to someone, they shall entrust them to brethren and sisters, and not to the world.
22. If a brother or sister has debts from the world, he may let the authorities demand it, and let them set a date (for payment) but thereafter not let anything be mortgaged.
23. If a brother is to watch or guard in village, field, wood, or forest, he may hire someone, if it is for the best or he himself may guard but not to anyone's harm, and he may not carry any weapon such as spear and the like.

Another Discipline

Agreement: On the 10th day of October, anno 1630, the Swiss Brethren of Switzerland were together near Hoffingen in the dark valleys (?) and discussed, counseled and agreed with one another to hold closer to the order of the gospel in the church of God according to the statement and deposition of the old brethren, to hold fast to them, and take care where something might have been neglected.

1. If a brother or sister has committed a public transgression, may God forbid, such shall be publicly punished.
2. If someone should wish to move away on account of tribulation it shall not be allowed them without godly cause.
3. No one shall let himself be brought before the government court, or shall cause anyone else to be brought before such court on account of money debts.
4. Anyone who has been appointed, who has a good testimony, and is in the confidence of the people, such an one may take charge of communion, baptism, marrying, punishing and expelling, if no ordained bishop should be on hand, who might have been hindered for cause.

Copied 1733 and 1774. By Christian Guengerich of Hueninghausen, March 1, 1789, April 14, 1800, 1820. This discipline I received from Friederich Hagi (Hege) at Martinscreek, Ohio, in the year 1860, and returned to his son in Iowa. Copied by me Jacob Schwarzendruber.

The copyist, J. Schwarzendruber, was born in the year 1800 at Mengeringhausen, about an hour from Hueninghausen in Waldeck in Germany and died in the year 1868 on the 5th of June in Johnson Co., Iowa.

Friedrich Schwarzendruber.

[ ] indicates omission in the earlier text of 1836.
( ) indicates words not in the German original.

Reviews and Notes

BOOKS

Das Buch der Reformation Huldrych Zwinglis von ihm selbst und gleichzeitigen Quellen erzaehlt durch WALTER KOEHLER, Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Zuerich, Mit 39 Bildern im Text und 57 Tafeln. Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, Muenchen, 1926. 8vo., pp. 372. 15 Marks.

The well-known Professor of Church History at the University of Zurich, Dr. Walter Koehler, one of the editors of the critical edition of Zwingli's Works which is now approximately half complete, has produced in splendid fashion a companion book to the "Buch der Reformation" which Kaulfuss-Diesch produced for the Lutheran Reformation in 1917. This "Book of the Reformation of Huldrych Zwingli" is an attempt at presenting the story of the life and work of Zwingli and the story of the Swiss Reformation to his death in 1531 in the words of Zwingli and his contemporaries illustrated with contemporaneous pictures. The attempt is an unqualified success and a credit to the editor and publisher alike.

The sources used are gathered from Zwingli's own writings, from BULLINGER'S REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE, from the CHRONICLE of BERNARD WYSS, from letters of Zwingli and his contemporaries, etc. The editor prefixes a brief paragraph before each section outlining in summary the contents of the following selections. Since the Swiss German of that day is at times difficult for the modern German reader the modern German equivalent of the more difficult words is inserted in parentheses in the text. Other than this the work of the editor is wholly that of selection, except the translation from Latin where necessary. At the close of the volume a complete list of the sources used with location of the same is appended.

The illustrations are numerous (almost 100) and well-chosen, and add materially to the interest and value of the book. A majority are portraits, and the entire collection is a splendid gallery of the characters who played greater or lesser roles in this great period, practically none being omitted.

The Anabaptist movement in Zurich ("Die Bewegung der Taeufer") occupies about seven pages, pp. 182-190. Here the extracts are (1) the story of the origin of the movement and the outstanding events of 1525 from Bullinger's REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE I, 237 ff; (2) a confession or deposition by George Blaurock in 1526 from Egli's AKTENSAMMLUNG, No. 933; (3) the mandate of the Zurich council of March 7, 1526, in which the threat of execution by drowning is held out to those who persist in rebaptizing (*Egli*, No. 836); (4) the story of the drowning of Felix Manz on January 5, 1527 in consequence of this edict as told by Bullinger in his REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE I, 382; (5) the mandate of the Zurich council ordering the establishment of church records (principally to check up on infant baptisms), dated May 30, 1526 (*Egli*, No. 982); (6) and finally the justification by Zwingli in 1523 of his attitude toward the Anabaptists, found in his booklet, VON GOETTLICHER UND MENSCHLICHER GERECHTIGKEIT. In the following section the story of the execution of Jacob Grebel is told in Zwingli's own words from his

letter to Oekolampad and the Strasburg ministers Hedio and Capito, Nov. 26, 1526.

Koehler's selections of course tell the story from the point of view of the Zwinglians, and then hardly adequately, although perhaps no more space was available. It is however regrettable that neither Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, nor Balthasar Hubmaier were allowed to speak, but that the only self-testimony presented was a few lines from Blaurock. A section from Grebel's Petition to the Zurich Council of December, 1524, or from his letter to Thomas Muenzer in September of the same year would have given a better picture of the views and program of the party. The attitude of the editor is also indicated by his use of the portrait of Thomas Muenzer as the only illustration for this section, although Thomas Muenzer had practically nothing to do with the movement, and certainly is not representative of Swiss Anabaptism. Hubmaier certainly would have been preferable. Bullinger's guess that the Anabaptist leaders, Grebel, Manz, and others, had visited Muenzer and derived from him their views (with which the first extract begins) is of course as good and as bad as any other guess. The same is true of his explanation of the opposition of Grebel and Manz to Zwingli in religious matters because of their personal disappointment in not securing the professorships in Hebrew and Greek language at Zurich. Of such stuff martyrs are not made. It is of course not possible to trust contemporary sources in such cases. They must be discounted in the light of other testimony and natural bias.

Zwingli's fundamental opposition to the Anabaptists is briefly explained in the last selection where he defends the state as divinely instituted and necessary because of evil doers who are ungodly. His argument seems to be that the divine commands such as those in the Sermon on the Mount are indeed divine commands but impossible of fulfilment because of the sinful nature of man, and that therefore the human laws may be substituted for them in the actual government of the people by the state. In a sense this is true, but Zwingli's difficulty was that he could not conceive of the separation of church and state, and hence was unwilling to admit that the church as a church ought to require obedience of its members to such divine commands as the Sermon on the Mount. The Anabaptists certainly were not asking that the state be dissolved or that it begin to enforce upon all, Christians and non-Christians, the ideals and teachings of Jesus. They simply asked that the church expect this of its members and discipline accordingly, purifying the church of evil-doers. This, Zwingli nor Luther nor any of the state-church reformers were willing to do, nor have their descendants since been willing to do it, for the simple reason, as Luther says plainly enough, that "there were not enough of such people (who were true believers and willing to carry out the teachings of Christ) to make a church." The fundamental question raised by the Anabaptist leaders however still remains and faces the modern church today. It is simply this: Shall we try to actually live out the ideals of Christ in this present world, or shall we lamely say that they are impossible and proceed to participate in murder (war), in robbery (unchristian industry and capitalism) and other mortal sins, blessing them in the name of a state-church?

The followers of Grebel and Manz have always declared and today still say that the latter course is impossible and intolerable to the Christian conscience. They hold that Jesus meant what he said and that he expects whosoever will follow him to take up his cross, deny himself and follow after him.

The book itself is a fine specimen of the printer's art, printed on excellent paper in beautiful old gothic type of the sort used by the printers of the Reformation period and now becoming popular in Germany for this type of book. The half-tones and etchings are splendidly reproduced. The binding of the copy in my hands is neatly done in raw linen.

Goshen, Indiana. H. S. Bender.

The Leaven of the Sadducees or Old and New Apostasies. By Ernest G. Gordon. Chicago. The Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1926. pp. 263. $1.50.

One of the most distressing experiences that comes to the earnest Christian is to find so many who are unable to estimate with accuracy the real character of much of the modern religious and theological writing, speaking, and preaching, that today passes as Christian. In recent years an increasing amount of earnest effort is being devoted to educate thoughtful persons to the point that they may discriminate intelligently and accept or reject with their eyes open. The task has not always been an easy one nor has it been a pleasant one. Many of those who have undertaken it have had to bear the odium of abuse from those who wished to block their efforts and coldness on the part of those who should have been their sturdiest supporters. The task is easier now, partly because honorable men are coming to see that it is utterly inconsistent for professed Christian teachers and ministers to deliberately dissimulate and deceive in order to carry through a program of modernization, and partly because the program has in many cases been so successful that camouflage is no longer necessary.

There have been a number of notable books which have put thinking Christians under lasting obligations with their revelation of the true state of affairs at the present time, and an analysis of the causes for the same. *The Leaven of the Sadducees* by Ernest Gordon, son of the noted pastor Dr. A. J. Gordon of Boston, and a Harvard graduate, is one of the most notable of this number. Other landmarks of a similar nature have been Horsch's *Modern Religious Liberalism* in 1921, and Machen's *Christianity and Liberalism* in 1923.

The book under discussion is not an occasion for emotion, unless it should be that one's blood might boil upon the reading of some of the Jesuitical processes by which Unitarians secured control of Evangelical churches and property in the great Unitarian division in the Congregational church of New England a century ago, and the baseness with which they promote their present policy of boring from within. What Mr. Gordon presents he presents as facts and the impression the book makes is that the facts are cold and hard and must be faced.

The Sadducees are the Unitarians and the thesis of the book is that the leaven of Unitarianism has been eating its way into the heart of Amer-

ican Christianity and its fruit is now being brought forth. After an historical discussion of the Unitarian defection in New England with an exposition of its good works and defects, together with an exposition of its essential character and tendency as revealed in modern Unitarian utterances (taken largely from the *Christian Register*, and Unitarian educators), a tendency which is distinctly skeptical and atheistic, the author pictures the fruit of the Unitarian leaven in *The Religious Education Association* (one chapter) and in the *Apostate Seminaries* (one chapter), with the *Looting of Andover Seminary* (one chapter) as an example of modernistic "crookedness". The last chapter, *Modernist Antiques,* shows by parallel quotation that modern rationalism merely parallels the rationalism of the enlightenment of two centuries ago.

The book abounds in succinct quotabilities. Note this one from the late Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, as given on the title page: "We trust the Unitarian doctrine and practice to leaven the inert mass of archaic religious opinion. The penetration has been accomplished and the leaven has worked wonderfully." In the chapter, *Unitarian Skepticism and Unitarian Schemes,* some astounding revelations of ethical jugglery and religious trickery are made. A steady drive is on to get into the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Federal Council of Churches, and other forms of organized evangelical Christianity by the Unitarians. The motive for this is revealed in the following quotation from a Unitarian editor: "Our doctrines are especially good for budding and grafting on an older stock. If the name is sometimes repellant, the substance when transplanted and allowed to spread by inoculation has a wonderful power of expansion. . . . We should frankly confess that our unadulterated doctrine, the honest truth frankly uttered, does not appeal to the masses, but when a strong flavor of it appears in an old stock it is often welcomed with enthusiasm. Then it appears under the enticing name of liberalism." "By indirection a large part of the finest and subtlest work is accomplished." "A good many Unitarians (Modernists in evangelical churches) are doing more good where they are than they could do anywhere else. They are undoubtedly capturing strongholds that we could never carry by direct attack. They are the modernists of Protestantism who are working from within the fold. . . . We want more of them and we want them where they are." "Liberals, unhatched Unitarians, are in all the churches." "It is strategic to remain and work from the inside. Many others are doing it successfully and the gradual permeation of the orthodox denominations with liberal ideas disseminated by trusted leaders of their own appears to them the best procedure. Until recently this has been a procedure that was comparatively easy to follow. Now it is uncertain and dangerous." "A liberal brother from a neighboring town came to see me. He had said some radical things from his pulpit to which objections had been made. Don't label your heresy, was my advice. Do as I do. Give them heresy in such a fashion that the very saints will not suspect it. Bad ethics, you say! I say, very bad! But this is the only way in which hundreds of orthodox pulpits can be held. When it was whispered abroad that in my ministry of three years I had not preached a sermon on the blood of Jesus cleansing us from all

sin, I saw clearly that I was discovered." "When I became a Unitarian, I was advised to stay where I was and keep some of my opinions to myself, gradually to sow the seeds of liberalism and wait until the time was ripe for more aggressive agitation." These quotations are all from Unitarians, the last two being from one of the official tracts of the American Unitarian Association. Comment is unnecessary.

The extent to which modern Unitarianism has captured the centers of theological leadership, especially in the seminaries and in the Religious Education Association, as revealed in this book, is astounding; but there are few who will deny it. For instance, of the latter Association a Unitarian leader remarks glowingly: "No association could come nearer the ideals of our own churches than this. It is an association devoted entirely to aims identical with our dearest loyalties. . . . Unitarians can do no better work for their own cause . . . than to enter into cordial relation with the brave enterprise so splendidly carried on by the Religious Education Association." Striking is Gordon's revelation of how the unitarian spirit is leavening through the Religious Education movement in general and in particular through the seating of unitarian modernists in the Bible Chairs and Chairs of Religious Education in many of the colleges. For instance, the R. E. A. offers twenty-four fellowships for the training of religious education teachers and leaders, and practically all of the fellows are training in the Harvard, Union, and Chicago Divinity Schools, where the atmosphere is predominantly unitarian. The R. E. A. is endeavoring to make itself the standardizing agency for college and secondary school courses in Bible. In other words, an association which has among its leaders atheists and free-thinkers, like Leuba and Starbuck, and any number of Unitarians and Jews, is actually trying to systematize and control the religious education given by Christian evangelical institutions.

The discussion of the situation in some of the leading seminaries of the day, such as Union, Chicago, Rochester, Crozier, Chicago Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Boston, and to some extent Garrett, makes it clear that almost everywhere the majority of theological professors are unitarian either openly or secretly, and that Chicago is little different from Harvard in its unitarianism. But this chapter must be read to grasp the full significance of the situation. The quotation from the late Professor Troeltsch of Berlin is very pertinent here: "We cannot use force on the evangelical church but we have another weapon in order to overpower it. This is to appoint the greatest possible number of radical and liberal professors and then it will of itself and from within go to pieces." And Troeltsch was an honest man.

The "Looting of Andover", as revealed here, is a scandal of the first rank. It is interesting to note that the Massachusetts Supreme Court recently held that the looting was illegal and rendered a decision which made impossible the union of Andover with Harvard in express violation of the charter.

The *Leaven of the Sadducees* cannot help but awaken thinking people to a serious situation. It is not mere quibbling about non-essentials

which is involved; it is the existence of Christianity which is at stake. Modern unitarian liberalism is fundamentally anti-Christian; it is not just a denial of Christ's divinity, though this would be serious enough. It is a movement which aims at transforming Christianity into a vaguely mystical, predominantly rationalistic ethical culture, and "it has pronounced atheistic tendencies which have borne their full fruit in the denial of God in the cases of various individuals." The movement is strongly entrenched in seminaries, colleges, and universities, and it is beginning to get a strangle hold on evangelical Christianity in the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Religious Education movement, and elsewhere.

In the light of this book and other similar discussions, it is difficult to see why any Mennonite should be indifferent, obscurantist, and even hostile toward evangelical attempts to clear up the situation, though this is the case in some quarters. At this time the Mennonites of America, with a few notable exceptions, are relatively free from modern liberalism. If however an indifferent attitude on the question prevails, if relations with modernist organizations, seminaries, and literature are cultivated, if the difference between evangelical and liberal Christianity is minimized or denied, it is not difficult to prophesy what the eventual outcome will be. The fear that has arisen in the past and now exists that all is not well among Mennonites has been due no doubt primarily to lack of clarity of thought and failure to recognize essential cleavages by those under suspicion. Mennonites have been for the most part, even among the college-trained group, rather inept in constructive theological thinking. But the time for "winking at" such ignorance is about past, and Mennonites have a right to demand that their leaders in college, in the press, in every circle, make their position clear, not by a few stout words of denial but by a consistent course of action day in and day out and by constructive leadership along the road of historical evangelical Christianity as it has ever been held by Mennonites.

The Leaven of the Sadducees is not technical, is not dull, is well suited to the intelligent layman, is free from personal abuse. It is strongly fortified with quotations, and for every reference the source is given and may be checked. It is one of the best examples of what a Christian polemic should be. As another reviewer has said elsewhere, the work is comprehensive, complete, scientific, convincing, and unanswerable (W. O. Carver in the *Review and Expositor* for October, 1926).

But the prospect is not hopeless. Mr. Gordon looks for an evangelical revival that will drive modernistic rationalism out of the churches. Notice his concluding paragraph:

"The old rationalism is under a new name rearing its head again. It is aiming at nothing less than the perversion of the entire institutional life of American Christianity. It has up to the present worked quietly and its successes have been both notable and shameful. They may be still more remarkable in the near future. But only for a time. Those who are disconcerted and alarmed by this unlooked-for development will find reassurance in the history of the Christian renascence which followed the eighteenth century. Professor Troeltsch has to record that 'the English, Swiss, and German revival period created in the Protestant churches *a*

mighty counter-current which ended with the complete expulsion of the Enlightenment Theology' (Art. Aufklaerung Realencyclopaedie f. Prot. Theologie u. Kirche). So will it be with us. When the outlook seems most discouraging we are to look for great manifestations of God's power.

. . . . O Wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?' "

Goshen, Indiana. H. S. Bender.

Books for Children. By ALTA MAE ERB. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1926. pp. 34.

The average church worker could show a greater appreciation of the educational and cultural value of wide, general reading. Since the grandparents of the present generation of high school students grew to maturity during the "dime novel" craze of the early part of the second half of the last century, they must be pardoned for their prejudice against fiction. Ministers and Sunday school workers of every larger denomination joined forces in a crusade against the irreligious, immoral, and otherwise destructive influence of the writers who flooded the country with this worse than useless trash. Whether or not the dime novel ever did as much harm as the reformers said it did, or would, it had two important results: first, it made reading popular, hence remunerative for the writer; and, second, because it made the writer's profession remunerative, it attracted some of the best minds to the writing of fiction.

Now, since the Sunday school has been awake to only one of these facts — the evils of the dime novel — and not to the other — the wealth of good wholesome material by some of the fine-spirited men and women of the past twenty-five or thirty-five years — the subject of literature has been receiving largely a negative emphasis. Young people have been warned what not to read instead of being taught the importance of cultivating appreciation and taste for books. Even when such appreciation is encouraged, reading is too often considered a necessary evil to be mitigated in some way; and good literature is prescribed as a possible antidote.

The importance of reading, of much reading, of diligent reading has not received sufficient emphasis. Some young people have learned so well that they must read nothing trashy that they have never learned to read anything good. Some such young people attend our church schools. They find science difficult, history dry, English unintelligible, and even Biblical literature uninteresting. Why? Simply because they cannot read. They glean the writer's thought from a book only with the greatest difficulty, because they have never been taught to interpret the printed page. Reading with facility and appreciation is an art to be cultivated and mastered like any other art. A carpenter does not become expert by building one house. In mastering his craft he develops certain skills, the result of long practise. Since this is true also of reading, the child needs to be taught to read.

This is the straightforward emphasis in Mrs. Erb's little book, *Books for Children.* In the opening section she gives a number of admir-

able devices for interesting boys and girls in books and jots down a few simple hints for the mother, the Sunday school worker, and the minister, interested in helping little people to find something interesting to read and to derive pleasure and profit from their reading.

In the second section, *What shall Children Read?* Mrs. Erb, after referring to the great abundance of literary material, asks, "Which of all this reading matter will really help the young minds in their development? and which will hinder, or even harm?" In her answers to these questions she shows the spirit and judgment of one who knows and loves both books and children. Of fiction Mrs. Erb says, "There is some good fiction — fiction that upholds ideals which are pure and noble, and yet pictures life with enough realism to counteract the dissatisfaction and discontent that arises from too much idealism. Such fiction is both entertaining and educational."

After calling attention to the interesting field of nature study and science she points out some of the dangers lurking in some books on scientific subjects. For instance, "While looking over the volumes on evolution in a public library, a writer came upon this sentence, penciled in a youthful hand at the end of the book, as the conclusion of the whole matter, 'There is no God'." The section closes with proper emphasis on the reading of the Bible as the best and purest literature.

The title-page of the book speaks of itself modestly as "A List of Books prepared by a class in Religious Education at Hesston College and Bible School"; it is this classified book list which makes up the remainder of the booklet. So far as the reviewer knows this is the best work of its kind yet attempted by a member of the Mennonite Church. The list is divided into two parts: Books for very young children; and Books for older children. The titles in each list are classified under such heads as Bible stories, poetry, fiction, nature study, out-door life, books for boys, books for girls, books for teachers and workers, etc. With each title are printed the author's name, name and address of the publisher, and a sentence or two describing the book. Although the titles cover a very wide range and include all the old favorites from the days of Bunyan and Defoe down to the present time, as well as a refreshingly complete list of the newer worthwhile books, they have been selected with the spiritual, social, and mental needs of the child so constantly in mind that one would hardly wish to spare a single title from the list. The reviewer was disappointed in not finding two of his own favorites, "Livingstone the Pathfinder", and "The Black-Bearded Barbarian", missionary books which the boys of one Sunday school literally read to pieces in less than two years. However the titles are selected with great care and should suggest the possibility of new accessions to even a large, well-equipped Sunday school library. The little book deserves a wide circulation, and should be in the hands of every minister, Sunday school worker, and Junior leader in the Mennonite Church. Parents should find it a valuable guide to keep on hand for the help it can give in selecting for the child's birthday or Christmas gift a book that is sure to prove interesting, helpful, and safe.

Goshen Indiana.

John Umble.

The Acts of the Apostles. By G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D. D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. pp. 547.

While Dr. Morgan does not give much time to the problems that come under the heading of "Introduction", one cannot fail to observe that he is familiar with the literature on the book of Acts, the currents of thought in the period to which the Acts belongs, and the historical geography underlying the book. His major interest, however, is in seeking out the great spiritual values of the book rather than a discussion of the critical problems that have been so warmly debated in the past few decades. In his own words he has made "an attempt to help the plain man, and the teacher, in a study of this most wonderful writing". He says further, "My work is that of Exposition based on Exegesis. It is really intended as a handbook to the reader who desires a true apprehension of the spiritual force and method of these first years of Christianity at work in human history." To this task Dr. Morgan comes well equipped. In all of his writings he excells in Biblical exposition and is recognized as a prince of expository preachers in the English speaking world.

The plan of the book is based on Dr. Morgan's analysis of the book of Acts. He divides the book into fifty-eight paragraphs and this volume consists of an exposition of each of these paragraphs. The viewpoint is that of the supernaturalist; the work is evangelical throughout. A splendid work for the minister, Sunday school worker, or Bible student.

Goshen, Indiana. Noah Oyer.

Devotional Leadership. By GERRIT VERKUYL, Ph. D., D. D. Field Representative, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. pp. 160.

A thoughtful little volume designed to help those who lead public devotions. The discussions center around the worship program of the Church. Following a splendid study of "The Nature of Devotions", the author discusses the requirements essential to entering into a devotional attitude. The suggestions for private devotions, joint devotions, worship in the song service, and in giving will be found helpful. The closing chapters, Culture in Prayer and Biblical Devotions, form a splendid study of the prayers found in the Bible, particularly the prayers found in the Psalms and the prayers of Christ.

Goshen, Indiana. Noah Oyer.

Outline Bible Studies. By HENRY W. FROST, D. D., Director, for North America, of the China Inland Mission. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company. pp. 352.

In this series of studies Dr. Frost has given us the fruit of many years of Bible study. He states that these studies were pursued to meet his own personal needs, they are the result of his own devotional Bible study. In sixteen studies, outlines are presented on what the Bible teaches on 337 topics. The Scriptures, the Godhead, Temptation and Sin, Salvation, the Church, and Missions, are among the subjects outlined. A brief and pointed introduction to each study adds greatly to the value of the book. Christian workers who desire a work of ready reference will find splendid help in this little volume.

Goshen, Indiana. Noah Oyer.

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